

FINE ARTS

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THE MUSEUM
of
FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES
(Östasiatiska Museet)
STOCKHOLM



Bulletin No. 49

Stockholm 1977

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AXEL AND NORA LUNDGREN'S BEQUEST OF CHINESE BRONZES

by

BO GYLLENSVÄRD

The twenty years between two world wars became the great break-through for collecting old Chinese art and serious studies of Chinese culture in the Western world. Large exhibitions were arranged in Amsterdam, Berlin and London which stimulated further research and even Sweden took part in these studies as well as collecting. In 1929 the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities opened and the so-called China Club was started by some ambitious collectors under the inspiration of The Oriental Ceramic Society of London. The President was Dr. Johannes Hellner and members were H.R.H. the Crown Prince, Anders Hellström, Emil and Richard Hultmark, Orvar Karlbeck, Carl Kempe, Axel Lagrelius, Holger Lauritzen, Gustaf Lindberg, Axel Lundgren, Anders Norberg, Nils Palmgren, Ivar Traugott and Gerhard Versteegh. Most of these members assembled comprehensive collections of Chinese ceramics and some also purchased archaic bronzes. Later on some of these collections have ended up in the MFEA either acquired or donated after the owners' decease. The important collection of Chinese bronzes once owned by Mr. Anders Hellström was purchased in 1941 and has been published in this Bulletin by Bernhard Karlgren in volume 20, 1948. The Lauritzen collection of Chinese Sung and Ming ceramics was donated by Mr. Einar Lauritzen, son of the collector, in 1965 and was partly published by Jan Wirgin in 1965. Two years later the museum received a bequest by Dr. Carl Kempe, a comprehensive collection of Chinese glass from late Chou until the 19th century. In 1969 a choice collection of archaic bronzes was donated by Gull and Natanael Wessén, some of which now number among the real treasures of the museum. In 1973 the large collection of Chinese art collected by His late Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf, was donated to the museum and the same year some outstanding T'ang ceramics were given by the Hellner family. All these acquisitions of the past thirty years have increased the number of Chinese bronzes and ceramics considerably.

At the end of 1976 Axel Lundgren's widow passed away and left her entire collection of Chinese bronzes and ceramics, textiles and one Sung painting to the museum. This collection was well known to many scholars and collectors of Chinese art as she, until the last years, generously showed it to all interested visitors. Some of the bronzes and ceramics have also been displayed at various

international exhibitions. The collection was built up during the short period between 1930 and 1938, the year Axel Lundgren passed away. It was never a large collection but one of extreme merit. The bronzes number only twenty comprising of ten vessels and ten other items from Shang to T'ang. The ceramics number ca. 120 with Sung, Ming and Ch'ing dominating and also a few from T'ang and earlier. The collection is of such high merit that we have found it well worth publishing most of it. This volume will deal with the bronzes and the Sung painting, and the next volume published will take up the ceramics.

Bronzes

The twenty bronzes can best be described in two groups, first the sacrificial vessels and secondly miscellaneous bronzes. Representative of them all is the exceptionally high artistic and technical quality and their good condition, which makes them well-suited as representative of some classic types of Chinese bronzes. The vessels belong to the common types with Ting, Kuei, Ku, Chih, Chüeh, Tsun and Hu from Shang-Yin until late Chou. Most of them have been published earlier mainly by Karlgren in various connections but they have not been described in detail. In the following the description is based on Karlgren's basic research in this field and his nomenclature has been used. The items have been grouped from chronological points of view. The datings mostly follow Karlgren's, but consideration has also been given to the excavations in the People's Republic of China and later publications about Chinese bronzes.

Characteristic of all the vessels is their fine casting of the typical patterns and the harmonious shapes of the vessels. In the following Shang-Yin and early Chou vessels have been grouped so that the vessels with sunken design come first followed by those with low relief on a sunken background pattern. The third group consists of vessels with high relief in baroque style of early Chou.

1. KUEI (Pl. 1-2)

This type of Kuei does not belong to the common ones of that category as it is quite plain and without handles. The body has a softly curving silhouette creating an S-curve starting from the straight cylindrical foot. The shape comes close to stoneage pottery and seems to be an early type. It is decorated in three sections with a plain band in between. Around the neck is a border of lozenges and triangles with inscribed circlettes. Three animal's heads in relief are applied on top of this border and correspond to the crest of the *t'ao-t'ieh* masks underneath. Above this border is a whorl of rising blades with spirals and triangles, being conventionalized cicada patterns.

The main section is decorated with three large *t'ao-t'ieh* masks made of two confronted trunked dragons, the heads of which meet at a thin vertical flange. Each dragon has a heavy nose with nostrils and a crest above forming a shield together with the crest of the confronted dragon. It has a spiral tusk, circular eye in relief with a hole in the centre and C-horn. The band-like body has a raised wing

and turned-up tail ending in a spiral. Underneath is a large leg with claws turned backwards. Behind its tail is a small vertical gaping dragon with C-horns. These animals are also adorned with C-spirals and T-scores. The background is filled with a fine pattern of square- and C-spirals.

Around the foot-rim are a pair of trunked dragons arranged with their heads directed towards a small *t'ao-t'ieh* mask with a flange along the nose. These dragons have spiral trunks, raised S-horns, wings and spiral tails. Their eyes are not in relief. The background is again covered with square spirals as on the main section. Below the dragon border is a narrow band with lozenges and triangles with circlettes and a simplified variation of the compound lozenge-pattern.

The whole decoration is made in a sunken design of very fine drawing but with the small irregularities which are common also on the finest bronzes. Most probably it has been filled with a material contrasting in colour to the bronze but now only traces are left. In the dark patina one can find spots of emerald green and red. The vessel has a specific kind of pure beauty with its graphic design and harmonious proportions.

H. 112 mm. Diam. 173 mm.

Shang-Yin. Reported to come from Anyang.

Very few examples of similar types of Kuei vessels have been possible to trace. The closest parallel is found in the Seligman collection, Hansford cat. No. A 11.¹⁾

This vessel has a widening foot-rim and more pronounced silhouette and the decoration is different although it is cast in sunken design with only the eyes of the *t'ao-t'ieh* in relief. That Kuei is also inscribed.

More common is the same type with a border as the only design as one in MFEA (Karlgren New Studies Pl. XIV).²⁾

More common are also similar types with the decoration in two levels, the dragons in relief and background in sunken design such as Freer Gallery cat. No. 61³⁾ and Singer Cat. No. 5.⁴⁾

2. CHÜEH (Pl. 3)

This common type of sacrificial wine vessel has a deep, almost cylindrical cup with rounded bottom, widening lip with broad spout and triangular "tail", short spreading legs of triangular section, vertical handle emanating from a bull's head in high relief and rectangular uprights with domed caps.

The decoration covers the cup, spout and "tail" up to a plain border along the lip and is cast in sunken design of the same type as on the Kuei No. 1. The main section is adorned with two *t'ao-t'ieh* masks, one with the handle as nose protruding from a bovine head, and the other complete but with a bovine free head applied between its horns. The masks have C-shaped horns, shield crest in between, bulging eyes with pupils, pointed ears and hooked tusk in the upper jaw.

Beside the masks are two vertical gaping dragons with circular eyes in relief and body reaching to the same height as the masks.

Below the big masks two smaller ones are depicted but made up of two confronted trunked dragons with spiral tusks, triple bands, leg with claws and raised feathers on the back; the eyes are again in relief.

Above the main fields is a border of triple bands. Underneath the spout are two large trunked dragons, the heads towards the opening. They have bulging eyes, bottle-shaped horns, scaled bodies, spiral tails and fragmentary quill-legs. Above are spiral borders. The caps have whorl circles.

All the patterns except for the eyes are sunken in the surface and seem to have been filled with a material contrasting in colour to the bronze, traces of which are to be seen. The casting is not perfect but good enough to look sharp when the pattern was filled. Below the handle an inscription reads: Tzu X Fu Hsin.

It has a colourful patina in green, brown, red and emerald. There are traces of cloth in which it was wrapped up when buried.



H. 210 mm. W. 178 mm.
Shang-Yin. 12th-11th century.

A similar Chüeh is published by Hansford in the Seligman Collection Vol. I, No. A 5,⁵⁾ and the same by Karlgren in Yin and Chou, A 159.⁶⁾

The two vessels seem to be almost identical regarding the decoration but inscriptions are different.

3. CHIH (Pl. 4)

The wine vessel has a squarish section with rounded corners and an energetic S-curved body on a spreading foot. It is well proportioned with the decoration rhythmically arranged in four sections with plain bands in between. The décor is cast as on N:ris 1 and 2 with all details sunken in the surface, only two thin flanges and four eyes in relief.

Along the neck are rising triangular blades with large square spirals and T-scores, which seem to be conventionalized cicadas. These blades are in low flat relief against a sunken plain background. Below and adjoining is a border with consecutive dragons with central eyes — very conventionalized. The main section is adorned with two large t'ao-t'ieh masks made up of confronted trunked

dragons with standing spiral horns, conical eyes, raised wings, spiral tail and a large leg with inverted claws. Behind its tail is a small vertical dragon. The animals are adorned with C- and square spirals. The background is filled with square spirals. Around the spreading foot is a border with consecutive dragons with rectangular eyes in the middle on a background of square spirals and parallel lines. At the short sides of the footrim are two rectangular holes. The casting is exact with very fine lines of the patterns. Also in this case the design was once filled with a material contrasting in colour to the bronze. Now the vessel is covered with nice water patina in greyish green with dots in emerald, brown and red.

Because of corrosion the inscription is illegible.



H. 122 mm. W. 103 mm.
Shang-Yin. 12th century.

A similar Chih belongs to the Pillsbury Collection, Karlgren, Cat. No. 30.⁷⁾

That vessel resembles our vessel but the borders on neck and foot have dragons joining in a *t'ao-t'ieh* mask and the large *t'ao-t'ieh* is made by trunked dragons with C-horns, spiral tusks and legs with claws in the right direction but no wings. That Chih also has a domed cover with a knob on the top. Most probably our vessel once had a similar lid.

Published in Catalogue from the exhibition at Musée Cernuschi 1937, pl. VI, fig. 13⁸⁾ and Kinas Kunst i Svensk og Dansk eje No. 12,⁹⁾ Karlgren Marginalia II, pl. 39.¹⁰⁾

4. KU (Pl. 5-6)

The wine beaker undoubtedly belongs to the most common types of sacrificial vessels which is represented in almost every collection of old Chinese bronzes. It shows all kinds of variations regarding quality and type of decoration, the latter described by Karlgren in his Marginalia II, pls. 26-35.¹¹⁾ The Lundgren vessel is reproduced as No. 805 on pl. 22 under type 18 with thirty other vessels of the same type listed.

In comparison with similar published beakers this vessel seems to be of very high quality both from the technical and esthetic point of view. Already the shape is exceptionally slender and well proportioned with good balance between vertical and horizontal sections. From the wide foot it raises towards the central

bulb which is framed by two plain bands, the lower one with two stringlines. On this two sections the vertical flanges accentuate the movement upwards. From the upper plain band the neck starts and raises towards the wide lip in an elastic silhouette. The decoration is divided on the three sections: foot, bulb and neck. On the foot are two *t'ao-t'ieh* masks each made up of two halves joined at a scored flange which accentuates their noses. Only parts of the mask are cast in low and rounded relief; the nose with nostrils and crest, the oval eyes with brows, the upper jaw with tusk, the horn in shape of a dragon with scored spine, fragment of body and a leg with claws. These parts are adorned with sunken lines following the shape of the details. Background filled with square spiral borders and C-spirals in very sharp design which seems to have been filled with dark material. Above the masks is a border of trunked dragons with C-horns, square eyes, clawed leg and curled-up tail, all placed in the same direction, one between each flange. The bulb which is rather flat, is adorned with another pair of *t'ao-t'ieh* made in the same way but with raised C-horns and feather and hooks on the fragmentary body.

The next border above the plain band shows four snake dragons with heads seen en face. From this border four blades rise close under the lip. The blades consist of *t'ao-t'ieh* and fragments of dragons in the same low relief as on the rest of the beaker. The background is filled all over with square spiral borders, S- and C-spirals of exquisite casting.

Because of wearing and cleaning when found, some of the finer details have disappeared, but still the Ku retains its sophisticated kind of beauty. It is covered with a light green water patina with spots in red, black, blue and emerald.

Underneath an inscription: Lady X.

The cross marks underneath the bulb is not going through as on most Ku-vessels.



H. 302 mm. Diam. 169 mm.

Reported to come from Anyang. Shang-Yin. 12th-11th century.

As already mentioned this very type of Ku is wellknown and listed by Karlgren in *Marginalia II*.¹²⁾

Earlier published by Karlgren in *New Studies* pl. XXII.¹³⁾

5. TING (Pl. 7)

This cooking vessel also belongs to a wellknown solid type of the category. It has a deep almost hemispherical body with broad everted lip and two vertical handles widening at the top. Three straight cylindrical legs and six broad flanges dividing the sides. It is decorated in two sections with a plain concave band in between. The main field showing three big *t'ao-t'ieh* masks in relief formed by two trunked dragons, their heads meeting along a flange accentuating the nose with nostrils. Each dragon has a bulging oval eye, C-horn, pointed ear, spiral tusk, band-like body with two hooks and ending in a spiral tail. Underneath a leg with claws and spur. Above the nose a crest, the two forming a shield. The horns are concave in modelling and the animals are adorned with sunken lines for details comprising C-spirals. Behind their tails are smaller vertical dragons. The dragons are cast in low relief, the horns concave, with a background covered with a spiral decoration of square and S-spirals in sunken design.

Above the main field is a border with a pair of gaping dragons arranged in six panels, the two in one confronting the one in the next and meeting at the flange. They have beak-shaped upper jaw, oval eyes, comma-like horns, quilled legs and spiral tail. They are adorned with C-spirals and thin sunken lines and cast against a sunken design of square, S- and C-spirals. The flanges have T-scores. On the legs interlaced C-spirals and hanging blades with triangles and C-spirals, most probably a conventionalized cicada pattern.

All the sunken patterns have been filled with a material contrasting in colour to the bronze. Inside an inscription of Ya Hsing with unknown clan sign.

Greyish-green patina with green incrustations.



H. 230 mm. Diam. 197 mm.

Shang-Yin, 12th to 11th century B.C. Reported to come from Anyang.

This Ting was published by Karlgren in Yin and Chou, pl. VI¹⁴) as a typical Yin bronze with Yin-inscription. In New Studies it was again used as an example of the A-style and compared with a similar vessel on pl. III.¹⁵) In Marginalia I¹⁶) Karlgren has referred it to Ting A on pl. 15 and it was published in the catalogue

from Musée Cernuschi 1937, pl. IV, fig. 7¹⁷⁾ and in Kinas Kunst i Svensk og Dansk eje, No. 13.¹⁸⁾

Although there are many similar Ting vessels no one identical to it has been identified.

6. CHIH (Pl. 8-9)

This wine container is a quite different type of the category than our Chih No. 3. Its shape is more slender and of pronounced S-shape in the silhouette, with an extra, plain foot border. The decoration is cast in very high and sculptured relief of various levels. It is oval in section and the exterior vertically divided in four sections by four broad vertical scored flanges going from the foot up to the lip with a brake above the foot and two hooks in the middle. Horizontally it is decorated in four borders. Along the neck are confronted birds with sharp curved beaks, pointed eyes, bottle-shaped horn, wing starting in a spiral and with accentuated feathers, tail ending in a spiral and with fans along the upper side. A leg with claws and quill. On the collar and back is a scale pattern. Background filled with square-, C- and S-spirals. Above the birds is a border of raised blades in two levels. Below a border with vertical ribbons accentuated on the flanges by two hooks. The main fields are adorned by large birds of similar type as on the neck but they are in higher relief of various levels. The birds have beaks with vertical extension, bulging eyes, comma-shaped horns, the tail is bent downwards and split at the end. On the back is a quill and the strong clawed legs have spurs. The background is filled with square spiral bands, C-, T- and S-spirals of differing sizes. Around the foot is a bird pattern of the same type as on the neck but slightly smaller. The flanges have scores of horizontal lines and L-lines.

The casting of this vessel is extremely sharp and exact in design. Underneath the bottom is a netpattern in thread-relief. Dark patina with spots in emerald.

H. 133 mm. W. 95 mm.

Early Chou. 11th century. Reported to come from Anyang.

Most probably the vessel had a domed lid, now lost.

This bronze belongs to a group of vessels which are represented in various collections. Well-known are the vessels from the Tuan Fang set which is now the property of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and comes from Pao-chi Hsien in Shensi and dates back to early Chou.¹⁹⁾ A Yu in the Freer Gallery of Art belongs to another set, Freer Chinese Bronzes No. 50,²⁰⁾ and one in the Pillsbury collection is somewhat different but also goes with the group. Karlgren No. 16.²¹⁾

7. TSUN, earlier called Chih (Pl. 10)

The vessel has the shape of Chih but is larger and has a flaring neck with wide lip. The foot is everted with two thin rounds. Between the bulging body and neck is another round and a border with relief decoration and two free animal's heads of deer with big pointed horns and ears. The border shows four bird dragons, the

pairs confronted and surrounding the free animal's heads. The dragons are cast in band relief with an elongated rolled up C-shaped beak, tufts and crest, a hooked lower jaw. They have bulging eyes, short wings with spirals, split tails ending in volutes, the lower one with an eye. The birds are adorned with sunken lines following the silhouette and the background filled with C-spirals and parallel lines. The sunken design has been filled with a material in contrasting colour to the bronze. The décor is finely cast but somewhat worn. Smooth water patina in greyish green with spots in red and emerald.

Interior inscription of (X) made this precious bronze vessel in memory of the ancestor I to be treasured by sons and grandsons.



H. 193 mm. W. 182 mm.
Early Chou.

Similar vessels are in Higginson collection, Karlgren, *Marginalia* II, pl. 42 a.;²²⁾ Seligman coll., Hansford pl. VI A 7.²³⁾

8. Pair of HU (Pl. 11-12)

These two wine containers are almost identical and meant to be a pair. The body is pear-shaped with high shoulders and a long neck somewhat widening at the lip. The foot is high and spreading and has an adorned cover with three dragon-shaped loops which can be used as feet when the cover is removed. The vessels are decorated in five borders, four of which repeat the same patterns. The border consists of a central part with triangles forming a zig-zag pattern. Each triangle frames C-spirals producing heart-shaped ornaments with a lily-pattern in between. Spiral-bands of "volutes and angles" frame the main border. Each border is made up of short sections with the seam visible in most cases. Between the borders are sunken parallel lines. Around the neck are rising blades, starting from a spiral border of "volutes and angles". Each blade is filled with symmetrically arranged spirals with a stem along the centre.

On the cover are two borders of a similar type as the ones described. The

“legs” are also adorned with a “volute and angle” pattern and with a bird’s head. There are two ring-handles on the shoulder fixed to *t’ao-t’ieh* masks with a loop. The masks have slanting eyes, curved horns and tusks in the upper jaw. They are soldered to the vessels.

Most probably the patterns have been inlaid with gold and silver or with other material in contrast to the bronze. The inside of the foot-rim is still filled with the core. The pattern was made with positive dyes which have been stamped in the mould. Both vessels have a greyish green water patina with green and blue incrustations.

H. 275 mm. W. 180 mm.

Late Huai — early Han. 3rd century B.C.

The pair was purchased by Orvar Karlbeck from Shou Chou, once the capital of Ch’u State. There are several Hu-jars of this type known but with differing decoration. A similar one is published by Karlbeck in *Selected objects from Ancient Shou-chou*, pl. 48:4.²⁴)

9. HU (Pl. 13)

This wine container comes close to the pair described under No. 8 but is still more graceful with an accentuated silhouette of bulging and concave surfaces, the foot also being higher and wider at the base. On the shoulder are two applied *t’ao-t’ieh* masks holding rings in bandloops. The cover is domed and has three dragon-shaped ring volutes which serve as feet when the lid is removed. The only decoration is found on the masks and the three ring volutes on the lid and are of the same kind as on No. 8.

The vessel is cast in thin bronze and is now very fragile because of corrosion. Its beauty has increased because of the nice patina in green, blue and red. The inside of the foot-rim is filled with part of the cord and with the bronze remains of the funnel.

H. 295 mm. W. 195 mm.

Reported to come from Shou Chou. Late Huai style period — Western Han. 3rd century B.C.

This Hu belongs to a group of similar vessels which all come from Shou Chou and have been published by Karlbeck in *Selected Objects*. BMFEA, No. 27, pl. 48:3.²⁵)

10. BOWL with ringhandles (Pl. 14 A)

This vessel belongs to the domestic bronzes and has an unusual shape with bulging sides, low neck with reinforcing collar and low, straight foot-rim. On the shoulder are three bandloops with ringhandles. The bottom is arched.

The beauty of this vessel lies in its pure shape and smooth greyish-green water patina with bright blue azurite incrustations.

H. 70 mm. W. 185 mm.

From Shou-chou. Late Huai style period — Western Han. 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Published by Karlbeck op.cit. Pl. 51:2.

11. Mounting for horse trappings (Pl. 15 A, 16 A)

The long half cylindrical tongue-shaped object with a tiger head at the top is cast as a sheet with horizontal rim along its sides. The tiger mask in high relief is realistically rendered with whiskers, pointed lines, nostrils, striped nose and a rhomb on the forehead, all in sunken design. Two spiralled snake dragons take the place of ears. On the reverse side are three loops for attachment.

This mounting was used as an adornment on the forehead of a horse and was fixed to the leather halter.

L. 337 mm. W. 86 mm.

Reported to come from Loyang.

Middle Chou, ca 900–650 B.C.

Two similar mountings belong to MFEA, one published in BMFEA No. 6, p. 113.

The use of this mounting is shown in Kao Ku 59, 10, 529 in a paper by Wang with a reconstruction of a Western Chou horse muzzle from Chang-chia-p'o in Shensi.²⁶⁾

12. Mounting for horse trappings (Pl. 15 B)

This object is of the same type as No. 11 but somewhat smaller. The top is adorned with the head of a ram with large twisted horns and hooked tusks in the upper jaw. Broad nose with nostrils and rhomb pattern on the forehead. At the end of the tongue-shaped part is a ribboned triangle shaped like a tassel. On the reverse side are four loops for attachment. Also this mounting was used as an adornment on the forehead of a horse and was fixed to the leather halter.

L. 276 mm. W. 70 mm.

Reported to come from Loyang.

Middle Chou, ca 900–650 B.C.

13. Wheel-axel cap, in two parts (Pl. 16 B)

The larger part which was attached close to the spokes of the wheel starts with a broad socket and a conical transition passing over into a cylinder with two raised bands. The head of the iron linchpin is formed as a tiger's head in bronze and from the outer band is an angular projection being a stopper for the strap. The outer part also starts with a cylinder with a raised band and from this the bottle-shaped end emerges. Both parts are richly decorated with gold and silver inlay.

On the larger part are borders with a triangle and a volute pattern of intricate composition. The gold dominates with broader bands running in a zig-zag pattern and spiral volutes at joining points. The silver covers pointed triangles with a spiral volute. On the finial part the spiral volutes are symmetrically arranged in four pointed oval leaves and lozenges. The flat end has a spiral whorl around a cross.

The inlay is done with great skill in a very intricate technique which has been described by J. G. Andersson in his paper "The Goldsmith in Ancient China", BMFEA No. 7. Here he explains how gold and silver wires have been hammered into cast or incised indentations with slanting sides which help the metal to hold fast. On this item it is easy to see that the gold and silver sheets are made of thin wires and hammered together.

When this axel cap was first published in BMFEA, No. 6, pl. XLV:1, 1, it was combined with a similar set in the Hellström collection and both were reported to come from Ch'in-ts'un at Old Loyang. At this time they were dated back to the Han period but Andersson gave later convincing evidence in support of an earlier date e.g. Huai-style period or late Chou. Andersson did not, however, accept the two pieces as belonging together and prefers to call the smaller ones pole tops. As the material and workmanship of the two pieces is identical and many later finds of chariots with very long wheel caps show that they could belong to the same axel, we now prefer to group them together, as shown in the picture.

Now the pair is the property of MFEA.

L. 205 (together). W. at base 83 mm.

Huai-style period, 3rd century B.C.

Published by J. G. Andersson in BMFEA, No. 7, pl. 4-6, with drawings of the patterns.²⁷⁾

14. Ring-mounting for a coffin (Pl. 17)

This large *t'ao-t'ieh* mask is modeled in high relief with raised spirals ending all details. Bulging eyes with striated brows, shield crest on the forehead, horns and ears. From the nose a loop emerges and holds the ring and it has hooked tusks in the upper jaw. From the back of the mask a square bronze bar extends at right angles to the mask. This bar was fixed in a wooden plank of an outer coffin. On the ring are traces of cloth.

The casting is fine but the heavy patina in green, red and brown covers some finer details.

W. 135 mm. H. with ring 200 mm.

Huai-style period. 4th-3rd century B.C.

From a grave in Ku-wei-ts'un in Huei-hsien, Honan.

Several of these mountings already are the property of MFEA, loose as well as fixed to the lacquered beams from the tomb, showing how they functioned.

Karlbeck brought all this material to Sweden and first published it in his article "Notes on the Archaeology of China" in BMFEA No. 2.

15. SWORD (Pl. 18 A-B)

This weapon belongs to the category A in Janse's article *Épées anciennes trouvées en Chine* in BMFEA No. 2, and has a cylindrical grip encircled by two raised rings and a guard with a geometric sunken design to hold an inlay of turquoise. The pommel is lost but has been a circular disc concave on the upper surface. The long blade has double edges, is almost straight and slowly tapering towards the triangular point. The middle part and grip are cast in a bronze of less hardness than the two edges which have been hammered on and are harder. The technique used when producing this sword is a rather complicated and is found only in one other sword in the collection of MFEA.

L. 545 mm. W. 46 mm.

Huai-style period. 4th-3rd century B.C. From Shou-chou.

16. MIRROR (Pl. 19 A)

This mirror is circular and very thin with a plain somewhat concave outer border, highest at the edge and with a recession towards the decorated main field. Most of this field is covered with the so-called comma pattern of spiral feather in thread relief, the spirals having raised tips. In between the feathers are rectangular fields with false granulation. The pattern is made of rectangular sections repeating the same motif as a background to the four heart-shaped petals which are radiating from a circular border, all made in threadrelief on top of the ground pattern. Each petal has an inscribed palmette and the border has slanting lines. The fluted loop is fixed to a plain central field. Dark patina with blue and green incrustations.

Diam. 112 mm. Thickness 3 mm.

Huai-style period, 4th-3rd century B.C.

Reported to come from Shou-chou.

A similar mirror is published by Karlgren in *Huai-Han* under category C as No. 23 and he has listed three mirrors of the same type, all coming from Shou-chou in Anhwei and acquired by Orvar Karlbeck.²⁸⁾

17. MIRROR (Pl. 19 B)

Circular with fluted loop in a plain band surrounded by a border with ground-pattern of spirals and triangles and a thin rope-string. The next border is plain and is framed by a thin band with slanting lines. The main border is decorated with three band-dragons in a complicated design of spirals, volutes and quills. They are cast in flat low relief on a background of spirals and triangles. Each dragon moves in a springy double S-move with a split tail. It has a long head with a neck crest, two clawed legs, wings and quills. On some places it is attached

to a thin plain border. Next comes a band with slanting lines and a plain concave border rises towards the outer edge.

It is sharp in casting and well preserved and has an almost black patina.

Diam. 171 mm. Thickness 5 mm.

Huai-style period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

Reported to come from Shou-chou, Anhuei.

The pattern comes close to Karlgrens category E No. 30 but is not identical.²⁹⁾ So far it has not been possible to find any exact duplicate.

18. MIRROR (Pl. 20 A)

Circular and related to No. 17 but of different decoration. The fluted loop on this one is also placed on a plain back surrounded by a border with ground-pattern of spirals and triangles in low thread relief and a rope string in higher relief. The next border is plain and concave. The main field consists of a dragon design in low flat relief framed by thin bands and cast on a sunken background of spirals and triangles in fine thread relief. Four dragons are depicted with square-shaped heads, horse legs with hooves and a long loop extending from its collar and forming interlaced spirals with volutes and quills. The dragons are joined in a coherent pattern and more baroque in style than on No. 17. The outermost border is plain and concave, rising towards the edge. Fine casting and black patina with rusty cloudings.

Diam. 161 mm. Thickness 5 mm.

Huai-style period, 3rd–2nd century B.C.

From Shou-chou, Anhuei.

The mirror also belongs to Karlgrens category E and is related to Nos. 29–31 but not identical to anyone. See Karlgren Huai-Han, BMFEA No. 13.³⁰⁾

19. MIRROR (Pl. 20 B)

Square with decoration in two sections. The central field consists of a crouching quadruped as the cord loop and surrounded by four lion cubs crawling among clusters of grape vines and lifting their heads upwards and giving the impression of laughing. In the corners are palmette flowers and the wine scrolls grow towards the frame in relief with a pearl-border. The outer field is decorated with various birds among clusters of grapes and leaves growing from a scroll. There are pheasants, ducks, orioles and swallows. At the corners are palmette flowers again and the pattern goes towards the edge of the thickened frame. The whole pattern is cast in high relief and the silvery bronze adds to the lively effect of the animals and fruits.

W. 112 mm. H. 15 mm.

T'ang dynasty.

This pattern is very common on mirrors from the first half of T'ang and very often found on circular mirrors in so-called white bronze. The pattern was since Sung named *hai ma p'u-t'ao* (horses of the sea and grapes) and dated to Han. Both the date and name have already been corrected by W. Perceval Yetts in his "The Cull Chinese Bronzes", p. 167 ff³¹⁾ and Schuyler Cammann in his excellent paper "The Lion and Grape Patterns on Chinese Bronze Mirrors"³²⁾ gives a convincing explanation on the subject as being closely associated to the Manichaeism, a Western religion introduced in China during early T'ang. For good reasons he prefers to call them lion and grape mirrors as the animals depicted are meant to be lions.

There are many circular mirrors of this type known but comparatively few square ones. One from The Eumorfopoulos collection now belongs to the British Museum but has a different pattern with running deer.³³⁾ Square mirrors have been used since the Huai-style period and now and then they appear but on the whole they are rare.

20. Sculpture of a crouching tiger. (Pl. 14 B)

The animal is modelled in a realistic representation of this ferocious representative of the cat family. He is curling on a circular plaque with his head resting on the back hip, the muscular foreleg and hind leg with the claws meeting as the tiger is describing a spiral with its body. The complicated movement accentuates the strength and ductility of the animal and engraved lines describe the striped fur. It has been gilt all over but the gilding is now partly worn off. The sculpture is solid and thus heavy which makes it suitable as a weight.

Diam. 63 mm. H. 30 mm.

Early Han.

NOTES

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- 7) Karlgren, B.: *A Catalogue of the Chinese Bronzes in the Alfred F. Pillsbury Collection*, Minneapolis 1952.
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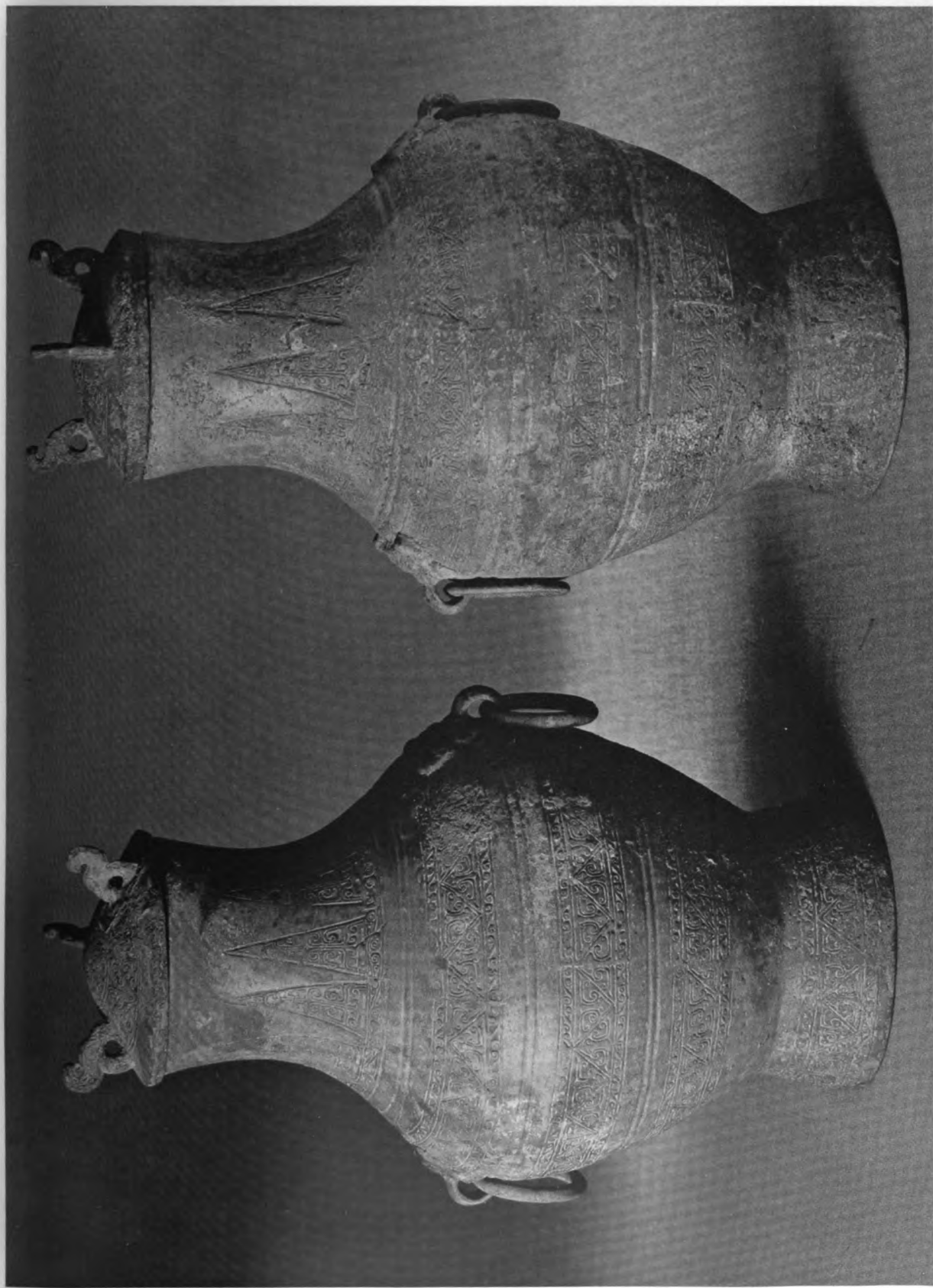














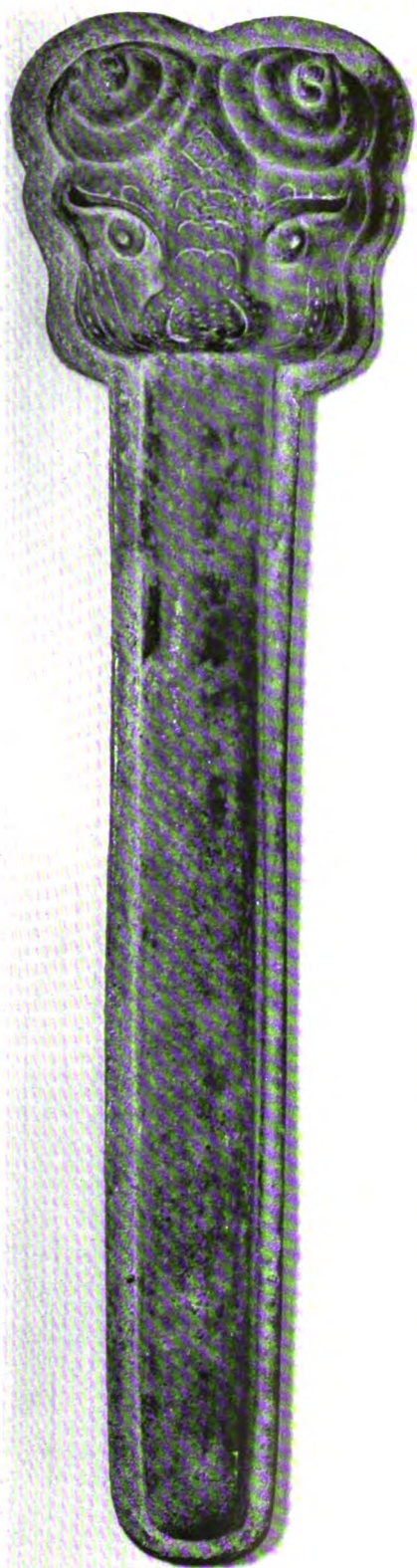




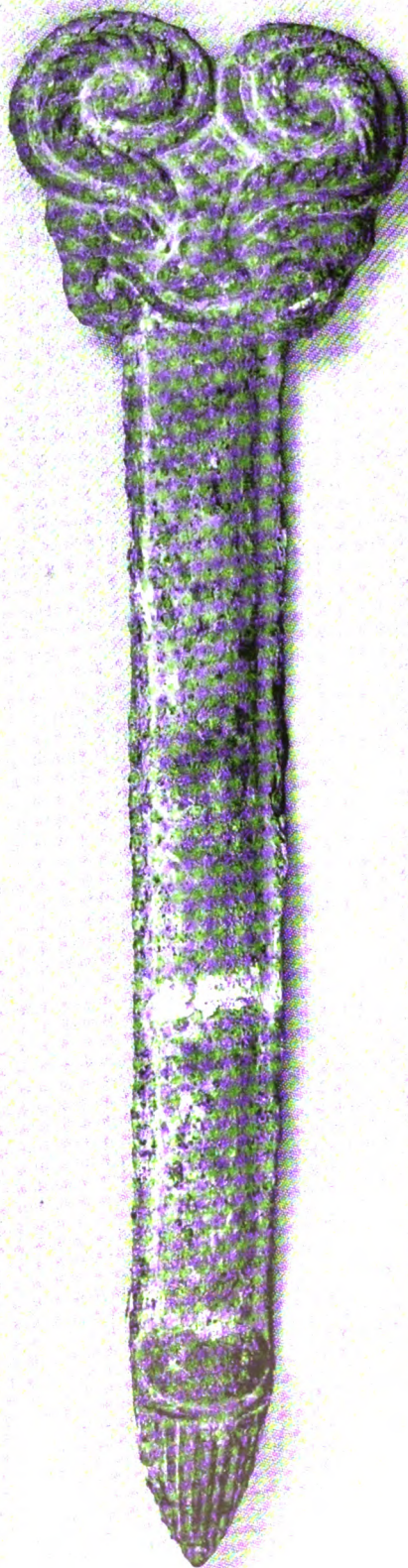
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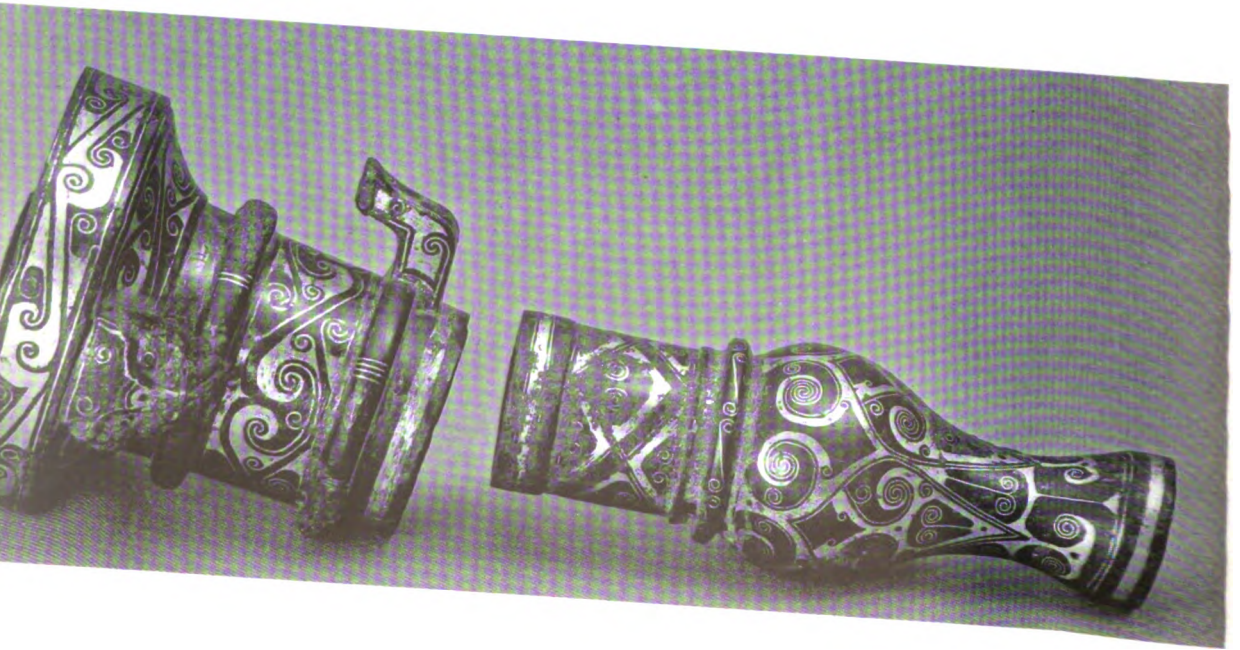
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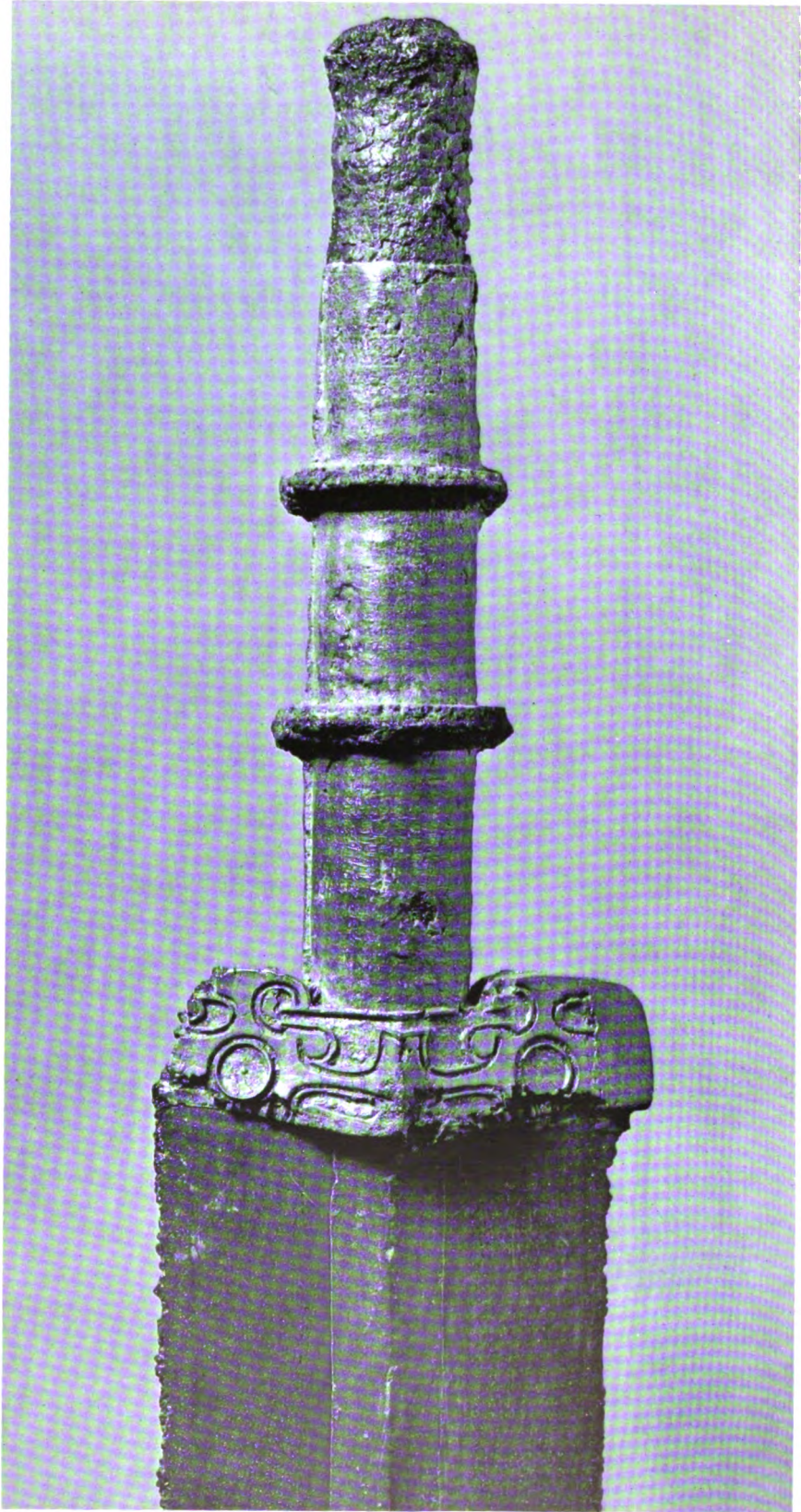
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“SHOOTING ORIOLES”, A PAINTING SIGNED MA YÜAN

by

PER-OLOW LEIJON

Among the many outstanding Chinese objects, mainly bronzes and ceramics, bequeathed to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities by the late Mrs. Nora Lundgren, were also a few paintings. Of the paintings by far the most interesting is called “Shooting Orioles” and bears the signature of Ma Yüan [1].

I.

Ma Yüan was one of the most famous Chinese painters of all time and he came from a well-known family of court painters. The earliest recorded member of the family was Ma Fen [2], “painter in attendance” (Tai-chao) [3] in the painting academy in K’aifeng (Pien-liang) [4] c. 1119–1125. Ma Fen was the father of Ma Hsing-tsu [5], Tai-chao in Emperor Sung Kao-tsung’s (reigned 1127–1163 A.D.) academy who in his turn was the father of two sons, Ma Kung-hsien [6] and Ma Shih-jung [7], both of whom became Tai-chao and received the distinction of the Golden Girdle. None of Ma Shih-jung’s paintings have survived but he still occupies an important position in the history of Chinese painting as the father of two great painters, Ma K’uei [8] and Ma Yüan. The fifth and last generation of the Ma family of painters is represented by Ma Yüan’s son Ma Lin [9].¹⁾

Although Ma Yüan is so famous the exact years of his birth and death are not known today, but Sirén²⁾ states that he became Tai-chao in the academy during the reign of the Emperor Kuang-tsung (reigned 1190–1194 A.D.) and that he stood in great favour at court in the time of Emperor Ning-tsung (reigned 1195–1225 A.D.) who conferred on him as well as on his brother Ma K’uei the distinction of the Golden Girdle. Sirén further states³⁾ that Ma Yüan originally came from Ho-chung [10] in Shansi province although he was active at the Imperial Academy in Hangchou during the longest period of his life. Ma Yüan’s tzu (“pen-name”) was Ch’in-shan [11] and Sirén lists his active years as a painter from 1190 until after 1225 A.D. Ma Yüan is said to have been strongly influenced by Li T’ang [12] (c. 1050 — after 1130 A.D.), the director of the Academy of Painting after it had been moved to Hangchou as the result of the fall of Pien-liang

to the Chin tartars. Ma Yüan with his contemporary Hsia Kuei [13] (active c. 1190–1225 A.D.) was the foremost representative of the so-called Ma-Hsia school.

Ma Yüan was nicknamed “one corner Ma” because of the style of composition that he used for the majority of his paintings where a large part of the surface is left untouched and the few details that are depicted are gathered in one corner. This “one corner composition” gives both a visual and psychological tension to the picture, and in the finest examples of this type of painting the empty space gives another and deeper meaning to the motif than the few details actually rendered can convey. The composition also accentuates the romantic, lyrical and introspective mood that fills so many of the paintings of the Southern Sung period (1127–1279 A.D.). This is perhaps a reflection of the harsh political and military realities which the Chinese had to face after the fall of the imperial capital Pien-liang in early 1127, and the increasing threat from the Mongols and other northern tribes.

When one examines reproductions of paintings more or less credibly attributed to Ma Yüan, one is struck by the relative similarity of many of the works. Apart from the “one corner composition” — which could be expected, considering his nickname — most paintings depict one or two scholars beneath gnarled trees. A few prominent rocks in the foreground, an empty middle distance and softly outlined mountains are usually found in the background. The foreground trees and/or rocks are used as a repoussoir, thus increasing the feeling of depth in the painting.

Characteristic of Ma Yüan’s brush work seems to be his somewhat mannered use of the “big axe-cut” stroke — in this influenced by Li T’ang’s style — and the twisting, jagged forms of the trunks and branches of the foreground trees, often rendered in dark ink.

One more detail should be noted before we turn to the Ma Yüan painting from the Mrs. Nora Lundgren collection, namely the slightly disconcerting information provided by Sirén⁴) that at the end of his life he established so close a kind of co-operation with his son Ma Lin, that in order to enhance his son’s reputation as an artist Ma Yüan signed some of his own works with the name of the son.

II.

The painting now under discussion is entitled “Tan Ying t’u” [14] or “Shooting Orioles”, the title being given on two strips (see fig. nos 13 and 14)⁵) of paper, now mounted one beside the upper right corner of the painting, and the other on the back of the mounting. No particulars are known as to when and from whom the painting was acquired by Mr. Lundgren, but according to Dr. Bo Gyllensvärd, the late professor Sirén had known of the painting since the middle of the 1930’s,

when it was already in Mrs. Lundgren's possession and had tried on several occasions to acquire it from her.

When handed over to the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in the early summer of 1977 the painting was mounted under glass in a western wooden frame. After its arrival at the Museum the frame and the glass were removed to facilitate closer inspection and to simplify detailed photography. First then it was possible to see the signature: "Ma Yüan" at the right edge of the painting close to the lower right corner. (fig. no. 10).

The size of the actual painting is 53.3 cm high and 42.8 cm wide. At present it is mounted in a manner similar to that of many hanging scrolls, but without the wooden roller at the lower and the wooden strip at the upper edge. Instead it is mounted with a rectangular piece of paper above the actual painting, the whole being surrounded by bands of patterned silk. (fig. no. 1).

The painting, the piece of paper and the silk border all combine to give very much the visual impression of a hanging scroll, were it not for the missing roller and wooden strip at the two ends. Another difference between the present arrangement and that of a traditional hanging scroll is that the label that is usually found parallel to the upper edge on the back of the painting when the scroll is rolled tight, is here mounted on the back of the masonite board that the painting is at present backed with. (fig. no. 14).

The characters on the strip of paper now mounted at the side of the painting were presumably written by Sung Lo [18] (see page 24) and that gives the artist and the name of the painting reads: "Ma Yüan Tan Ying t'u, Shen ping" (fig. no. 13) which means "Ma Yüan's painting "Shooting Orioles" (of) Divine quality".

The strip of paper now mounted on the back of the masonite board has the inscription "Ma Yüan Tan Ying t'u and in smaller characters "you Sung Mu-chung ti" which may be translated as "With Sung Mu-chung's inscription" (fig. no. 14). "Mu-chung" was Sung Lo's tzu. Who made this inscription for the painting is unclear, but judging by the type and the state of preservation of the paper it was written on, the inscription must be of fairly recent date.

It therefore seems likely that the painting was mounted as a traditional small hanging scroll, approximately 110 cm high and 60 cm wide before the mounting was trimmed and backed with the masonite board, framed and put under glass.

One more thing should be discussed in connection with the size and present mounting of the painting, namely that judging by the mounting as it can be seen today it seems safe to assume that the painting was originally intended as a small hanging scroll. But looking at the size of the actual painting (53.3×42.8 cm) the possibility exists that it was originally made as a fairly large album leaf. It should be pointed out that the size of the painting has been somewhat diminished during subsequent remountings. Evidence of this can be seen by the fact that the signature is so close to the edge that the far right part of the character "Ma" is *almost* cut away. (fig. no. 10). This reasoning naturally holds true only if — which, however, seems likely — the signature was made at the same time as the

rest of the painting and not added afterwards. A more detailed discussion of this problem will follow below.

“Shooting Orioles” is painted on silk, a silk which has today what can be best described as a dark golden brown colour. The silk is very densely woven and has a slight lustre. By examining the silk through a magnifying glass it seems to be of the Tan ssu chüan [15] (single thread silk) quality with a single thread in weft and a double in warp, a type preferred by some members of the Sung Academy, in spite of their having to pay for it themselves. (fig. no. 12). The less expensive Shuang ssu chüan [16] (paired thread silk) was provided by the Academy.⁶) If this identification of the type of silk is correct it means that in this painting the silk material has been turned 90°, the single threads of the weft being vertical in the painting. Although the actual age of the silk is unknown, we are here dealing with a piece of silk of high quality and of considerable age testified to by the warm brown tone, typical of old silk. This natural aging cannot be arrived at by immersion in tea or other dyes. The silk has minor damages in several places, mostly small holes, presumably caused by insects, and a few cracks, most of them generally vertical. (fig. no. 4).

“Shooting Orioles” (fig. no. 2) has the typical “One corner composition”, so common to the Southern Sung dynasty landscapes, but it is here somewhat looser and less pronounced in its execution than in other examples of the same type. The painting depicts in the extreme right foreground (fig. no. 9) a triangular rock, outlined in very dark ink and given solidity and structure by repeated use of “axe-cut” brush-strokes. To the left of the rock is a small expanse of water with a few very thin wavy lines denoting small ripples. Above the water and extending across the painting is a low, flat piece of land sloping slightly towards the left. At the left on this slope is a rider whose horse (fig. no. 5) gives a very elegant, slender and “springy” or dancing impression. The horse is rendered in a strong, flowing outline, and the shanks have a wiry quality creating the visual tension and movement of horse and rider. The tail is tied in a loose loop and the horse moves at an ambling trot with both left fore- and hind legs in a forward position and right legs moving back. The rider has turned in the saddle and is aiming his bow at the lower of two birds in the branches of a willow high above his head. A curious fact, however, is that although the bow is drawn taut, there is no arrow to be seen, neither in the hands of the rider nor flying towards the birds. Moreover, if the archer had already shot his arrow the bow and bow-string would of course not be drawn taut. I do not know if the missing arrow has any symbolic significance or if it is just a mistake made by the artist in leaving it out. (Perhaps to shoot a singing oriole was “simply not done” and considered bad manners; compare the bad sport or manners of shooting a sitting duck!). Perhaps the explanation for the missing arrow is simply that the visual appearance of the archer would have become more cluttered with the arrow and therefore it had to be imagined!

There is a willow tree at the right edge of the painting, slightly behind and above the triangular rock. (fig. no. 9). From the trunk which leans to the left with

angular roots visible above the ground, two main branches stretch diagonally across the painting towards the upper left corner. The diagonal movement of the thicker branch is suddenly interrupted near the centre of the painting (fig. no. 6), the branch continues almost vertically before turning back towards the right. Here it divides into a number of thin loosely hanging twigs. Just below the point where the twigs branch out, a small oriole is perched in a nearly horizontal position (fig. no. 7).

The other main branch growing in a general diagonal direction crosses the first vertical branch, and is then split into long, hanging twigs. (fig. no. 8). The second oriole, and this one obviously singing with its head turned back towards its mate, is perched close to where the twigs branch out.

Beside these two major branches growing in a diagonal direction there is a third, thinner, shorter and lower branch roughly parallel to the other two.

Around the lower part of the willow trunk there are several twisted branches both below and above it, growing almost at right angles. At the extreme right edge of the painting there is a strange-looking, looped branch which creates a rather disturbing visual effect. In the upper left corner of the detail photo (fig. no. 9) one can easily see the haphazard way the twisting Z-shaped smaller branch is suddenly divided into two and then three parallel twigs.

Beyond the described details of the foreground there is a wide undefined area denoting the mist in the middle-distance. Out of the mist the background mountains gradually emerge, the mountain-ridges going gently diagonally across the painting from half the height at the right to considerably lower at the left. Thus more than half the surface is left untouched to denote the sky, the void being broken only by the two main branches, particularly the tall vertical one.

The brush-work is generally strong and secure with a rich variety of brush-strokes and a few washes. Naturally the well-defined strokes are employed for the different details, while the washes are used to denote larger areas such as the background mountains and the slope.

The ink-washes in a subtle light blue colour denoting the mountains are rendered in a manner typical of many Southern Sung landscapes with a comparatively sharp edge showing the ridge. The colour is then gradually diluted downwards towards the valley, and blends imperceptibly with the untouched silk so as to create the feeling of mist rising from the lower ground. This technique helped to convey the impression of great spatial depth by pushing the mountains away from the spectator and into the picture.

The flat slope is coloured in a shade of blue similar to that of the background mountains as is also the robe of the riding archer. (fig. no. 5). The horse is painted in a deep brown colour, while in the area of the saddle and saddle blanket the silk has been left untouched.

The rider with his legs stretched forward and his feet in stirrups is dressed in a knee-length robe and is wearing an official's "winged" cap. The robe is outlined in strong flowing lines of uneven thickness and a few lines indicate the folds.

The foreground triangular rock (fig. no. 9) is painted in a mixture of blue and brown but the real structure of the rock is conveyed by the repeated use of "axe-cut" strokes in dark ink so typical of the followers of the Li T'ang tradition. Just below and to the left of the triangular rock and also below the horse and rider there are a number of short, thin, black strokes probably denoting grass or reeds.

Along the upper edge of the slope as well as around and on the trunk of the main willow tree a number of dots are loosely strewn. These dots do not necessarily have an illustrative value, but seem rather to serve as pictorial accents. Similar non-descriptive dots (tien) [17] are found in many other paintings credibly attributed to Ma Yüan. In the painting "Walking on a Mountain Path in Spring" now in the Palace Museum Collection, Taipei, and signed Ma Yüan⁷⁾ there are a number of dots in the foreground executed in the same loose fashion as in the painting in the Lundgren collection.

The success, from the point of view of composition of the two rather stiff main branches of the willow in the central section of the painting, can be discussed. The same is true about the rather bewildering rendering of the looped branch at the right edge of the painting and the twisted branch low on the trunk, which first grows upwards to the left and abruptly turns back towards the right in a disturbing fashion.

From a purely technical point of view, i.e. the brush-work, there are two areas — in my opinion — that are not as well executed as the rest of the painting. The first is the very stiff treatment, not to say hesitant brush-strokes of the diagonal and vertical part of the highest willow branch and the second the diagonal branch ending in the cluster of hanging leaves at the left. (fig. nos. 6, 7 and 8). It should, however, be noted that the same kind of straight, slightly insensitive brush-lines are also found in the main branches of the above-mentioned "Walking on a Mountain Path in Spring". In both paintings the branches are rendered with almost ruler straight strokes of nearly uniform thickness and with little noticeable modulation in the pressure applied to the brush.

However, when one studies the Ultra-violet photograph of "Shooting Orioles" (fig. no. 4) as well as the close-up details of this section of the painting (fig. nos. 6 and 8) it becomes clear that these sections of the branches have been repainted and "touched up". This is evident in the UV-photograph where they stand out so much darker than the other details of the painting which to the naked eye have the same richness of dark ink.⁸⁾ In the close-up photograph (fig. no. 8) one can also see quite clearly how the vertical section of the tallest branch is hesitant and almost trembling in execution as opposed to other details which are rendered with a swift, secure movement of the brush. The reason for the repainting of these sections of the branches can only be guessed at, but the reason for the stiffness and hesitancy of the brush-lines seems clear. When the artist first executed the painting he drew the lines freely, he himself spontaneously creating and composing the picture. The retoucher, however, was bound to follow as closely as possible the original brush-strokes when retracing them, and this

caused him to hesitate and restrain himself. As a result the spontaneity and brush-power of other original details are lacking in the repainted sections of the branches.

When discussing the similarity between the stiff branch treatment of "Shooting Orioles" and "Walking on a Mountain Path in Spring" other details similar in the two paintings can be mentioned. The top oriole in the Stockholm painting is in general appearance not unlike the perching bird in the Taipei painting. The similar treatment of dots in the two paintings has earlier been discussed. Another detail in the brush-work common to both paintings is the slightly mannered or exaggerated use of the axe-cut stroke — although this is a common feature in Southern Sung landscape paintings. Likewise, the tree roots growing partly above ground in a "spider-leg" fashion is found in both paintings.

The second esthetically and technically weak point is the treatment of the hanging cluster of willow branches and leaves on the left. These branches and leaves seem thick, heavy and solid and completely lack the lightness, airiness and sheer visual beauty of the top cluster. (fig. no. 6). Again we find, however, upon examining the Ultra-violet photograph (fig. no. 4) that the heavy, hanging branches on the left have been repainted. This time the retouching seems to have been done to hide some damage to the silk. The repainting has, however, been done so incompetently that instead of hiding the damage, the retouching draws attention to it and it stands out as an ugly scar. The lightness and casualness that the bunch of branches presumably originally had, is thus lost, and to a certain extent spoils the overall beauty of the painting.

"Shooting Orioles" bears a signature: "Ma Yüan" at the lower right edge of the painting (fig. nos 9 and 10). When examining the painting in Ultra-violet light it seems virtually certain that the signature was executed at the same time as the rest of the painting. This conclusion can be reached as the signature although pitch-black to the naked eye in UV-light takes on the same dull grey tone as other details of the same inktonality. Here one sees a clear difference between for instance the repainted sections of the willow branches and the signature. Even the unaided eye can easily discern that the rich ink of the signature has "sunk into" the silk and is not "on top" of it as can clearly be seen in other added and faked later signatures.

Although the signature on "Shooting Orioles" (fig. no. 10) is not exactly like the signature on other paintings credibly attributed to Ma Yüan, it is close enough to be genuine. When comparing the signature on this painting to the ones reproduced in "The Signature and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy, The signatures and seals of artists, connoisseurs and collectors on painting and calligraphy since Tsin dynasty", Hong Kong 1964, Vol. 1, p. 123, it most closely resembles, in my opinion, the third signature from the left in the upper line. This is particularly true about the first character "Ma" which has a similar slant in both signatures. In both cases the characters are comparatively broad and have a bold turn downwards and to the left of the last main stroke of the character.

Similarly, in both cases the last main stroke is turned back towards the left and the pressure on the brush gradually eased so the ink trails off to a comparatively sharp hook before the last horizontal stroke that makes up the abbreviated four dots.

The second character "Yüan" seems in the Stockholm painting thinner and more precise in execution than in the reproduced third signature, where the various parts of the character are somewhat pressed together. This fact, however, should not in itself condemn the possibility of "Shooting Orioles'" signature being genuine as, on the contrary, it would have been rather surprising if the whole signature had been a more or less exact replica of another signature. Rather, the fact that the signatures are very similar but not exactly alike testifies to the probability that both were executed by Ma Yüan himself and not by a forger who would have striven for an exact likeness. If both signatures were written by Ma Yüan, which seems a strong possibility judging by the swift and confident execution of both, the artist himself would not have been bothered by the small discrepancy between the two. That different signatures written by the same person virtually never are exactly the same, everyone who has signed checks in rapid succession knows.

The similarity between the signature and the reproduced one, the assured way in which it is written, the sheer visual beauty of the characters as well as the evidence of the rest of the painting, all indicate a strong possibility that the signature is genuine and was actually written by Ma Yüan.

It should be pointed out that a weakness in my comparison between the signature in "Shooting Orioles" and the one reproduced in "The Signature and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy" is that it is not stated in the book from which painting the reproduced signature is taken. This is a defect in the book and it leaves open the possibility that the reproduced signature is taken from a painting, the authenticity of which is open to discussion. One can in this respect only hope and presume that the reproduced signatures are taken from well established authentic works by the artists represented.

"Shooting Orioles" today carries three seals, namely one in the lower left corner, one in the lower right corner and one at the right edge, close to the upper right corner. So far only one seal, that in the lower left corner (fig. no. 11), a "relief-seal", has been identified. It belonged to the early Ch'ing dynasty collector and connoisseur Sung Lo [18] (1634-1713 A.D.) and the eight characters in the rectangular tall, narrow seal read "Shang-ch'iu Sung Lo Shen-ting Chen Chi" [19] or in free translation: "Authorized (as) genuine article (by) Sung Lo (from) Shang-ch'iu". This seal is the second from the left in the last line of Sung Lo's seals reproduced in the above mentioned "Signature and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy", Volume III, p. 86.

The second seal (fig. no. 10), in relief, in the lower right corner is partly damaged due to the silk being torn. The last three characters of the four character seal can be read as "X fu chen pao" [20] ("precious treasure of Mr X"), but the

crucial first character, presumably giving the name has not been identified. The seal seems not to be listed in "Signature and Seals on Painting and Calligraphy".

The third seal, also in relief, at the upper right edge is so weak that it defies photography whether it is ordinary black-and-white, infra-red or photography with various filters. The seal is illegible and in fact the colour of the seal ink is so faint that it is not until one studies the painting in great detail that one is able to discover its traces at all.

The painting is over all in fairly good condition although there are several basically vertical cracks in the silk. (fig. nos 2 and 4). When viewing the actual painting the scratch damage on the surface of the silk in the upper left quarter of the picture is more apparent than the long vertical cracks in the central and lower sections. On the right, half way up the painting is the largest tear in the silk which is now patched and somewhat clumsily painted over. There are several small holes in the silk — above the head of the horse, above the rider, to the right of Sung Lo's seal, to the left and above the left main tree branch, above the top branch and to the right of the hanging leaves of the highest willow branch. In the lower right corner the silk is torn horizontally, as has been mentioned in connection with the seals.

The painting has been repainted, as stated previously, in large sections of the main willow tree and in the hanging branches in the centre left. Several of the holes have been painted over, at times so unsuccessfully as to draw more attention to the repair than if the hole had been left untouched. This is particularly true about the hole above the rider's head, the holes to the left of the hanging left branch and around the tear in the right central section just below the mountains.

I have not been able to find any reference to "Shooting Orioles" in the records and catalogues of Chinese painting collections available to me.

III.

"Shooting Orioles" is an excellent painting with some details of absolutely superb quality. The horse and rider is a small masterpiece of elegant and tense, yet restrained execution. That detail is so well painted that it could only have been done by a great master. The portrayal of the two orioles is very similar to the bird in Ma Yüan's "Walking on a Mountain Path in Spring", indeed the overall composition and the brush-work as well as the all-important "mood" of the painting, indicate a Southern Sung date. Add to that the signature which appears to be correct and we have a painting which in all probability was actually painted by Ma Yüan.

The stiffness of the brush-work in the longest willow branches can be explained as they have been repainted and do not therefore in themselves diminish the probability of the painting being genuine. The mere fact that the branches have been repainted actually testifies to the painting being of a

considerable age. Furthermore, the slightly awkward arrangement of the highest willow-branches bear some similarity to the rather stiff branches in Ma Yüan's "Walking on a Mountain Path in Spring".

The weakness in "Shooting Orioles" is the visually somewhat disturbing arrangement of the highest branches and indeed of the whole tree, as have been pointed out earlier.

What differentiates "Shooting Orioles" from most other paintings credibly attributed to Ma Yüan is, that in the Stockholm painting the centre of attention (the rider, the tree and the birds) is in the middle distance and not in the foreground. In "Shooting Orioles" instead the river bank and the conical rock in the lower right corner are visual stepping stones leading the eye of the viewer into the picture. This arrangement works relatively well and helps to direct the viewers attention towards the left, towards the rider, but at the same time it telescopes the main motif, the rider, back into the painting. This for Ma Yüan unusual arrangement, the uneasy stiffness in execution and the way the branches grow that disturbs the balance of the composition plus the heavy-handed repainting of certain areas, are the weak points in the Stockholm painting.

The sheer beauty of the horse and rider, the birds, the lightness and airiness of the — untouched — highest cluster of branches and leaves, the way the distant mountains are treated, the security in the execution of the small reeds by the shore and the deft brushwork in the rendering of the foreground triangular rock as well as the signature — all testify to the authenticity of the painting "Shooting Orioles" and it can, in my opinion, be accepted as a genuine work by Ma Yüan.

Chinese Characters denoted by numbers within brackets:

1. 馬遠
2. 馬賁
3. 侍詔
4. 汴梁
5. 馬興祖
6. 馬公顯
7. 馬世榮
8. 馬遠
9. 馬麟
10. 河中
11. 欽山
12. 李唐
13. 夏珪
14. 彈鶯圖
15. 單絲絹
16. 雙絲絹
17. 點
18. 宋竿
19. 商丘宋竿審定真跡
20. 丈夫珍寶

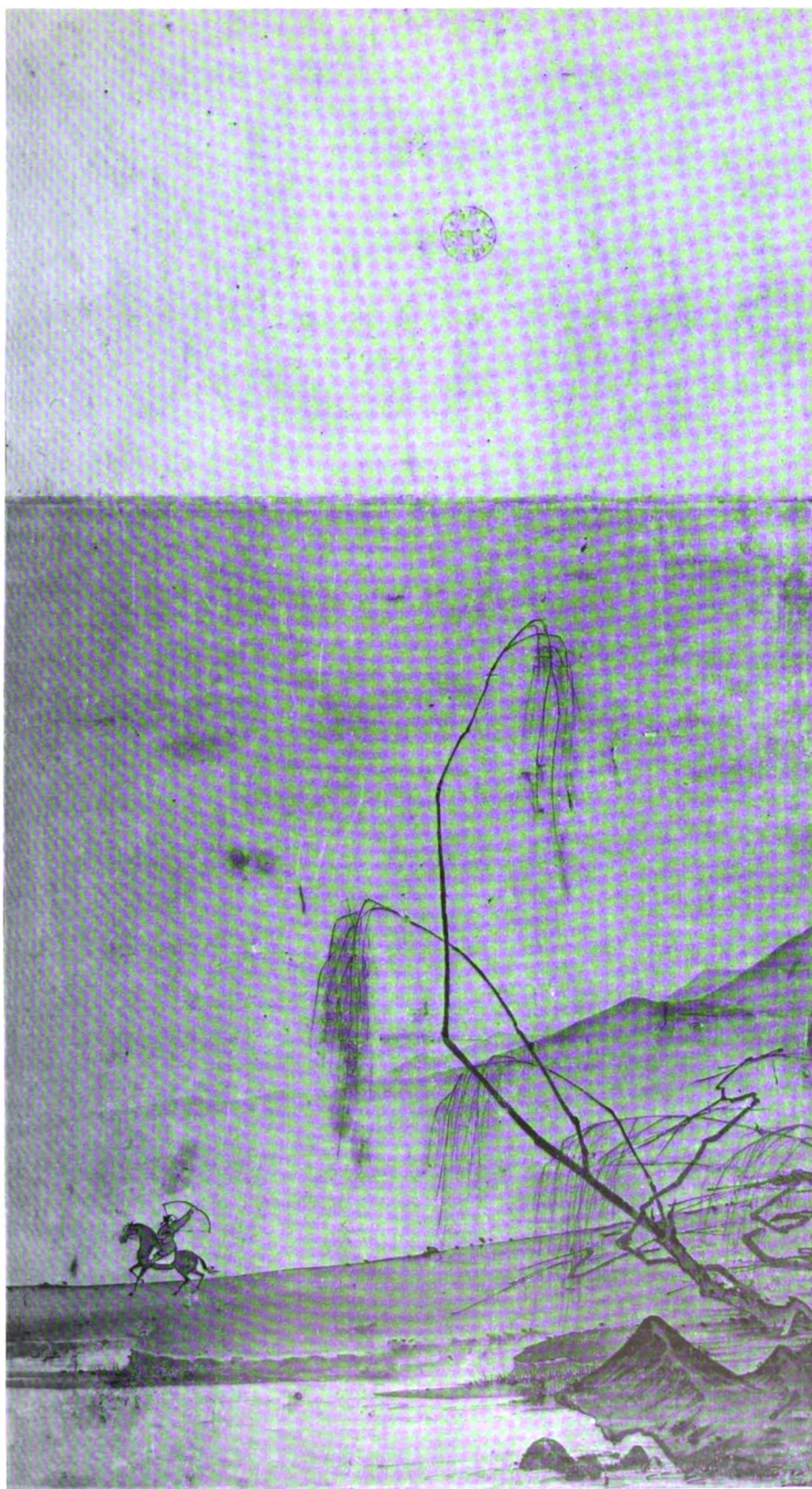
NOTES

- 1) For a more detailed account of the Ma Family see: Sirén: "Chinese Painting", *Leading Masters and Principles*; London 1956, volume II, p. 112.
- 2) Ibid, p. 113.
- 3) Ibid, *Annotated list of Paintings*, p. 74.
- 4) Ibid, p. 117.
- 5) The photographs illustrating this article have been taken by Hans Thorwid, The National Museum, Stockholm.
- 6) See: William Willets: *Chinese Art*, Penguin Books 1958. Vol. II, p. 544.
- 7) For a fine illustration of this painting see: J. Cahill: *Chinese Painting*, Skira, Switzerland 1960, p. 82.
- 8) I have discussed the interpretation of the UV-photo to some length with Mr. Uno Kullenberg, Conservator of the Painting Department, The National Museum, Stockholm, and he fully agrees with this my contention.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Fig. 1. "Shooting Orioles" as mounted today.
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- Fig. 5. Detail of horse and archer.
- Fig. 6. Detail of the two main willow-branches.
- Fig. 7. Detail of highest willow-branch.
- Fig. 8. Detail of part of the left and the right, highest willow-branch.
- Fig. 9. Detail of the lower right corner with the conical rock, the lower portion of the willow trunk and the signature.
- Fig. 10. Infra-red photo of detail showing the signature and seal in the lower right corner.
- Fig. 11. Detail showing Sung Lo's seal in the lower left corner of the painting.
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- Fig. 13. Close-up of paper strip mounted beside the painting giving name and artist, presumably written by Sung Lo.
- Fig. 14. Detail of name strip, now mounted on the masonite backing of the painting.

PLATES



馬遠平野圖
卷之二
七

Fig. 1.

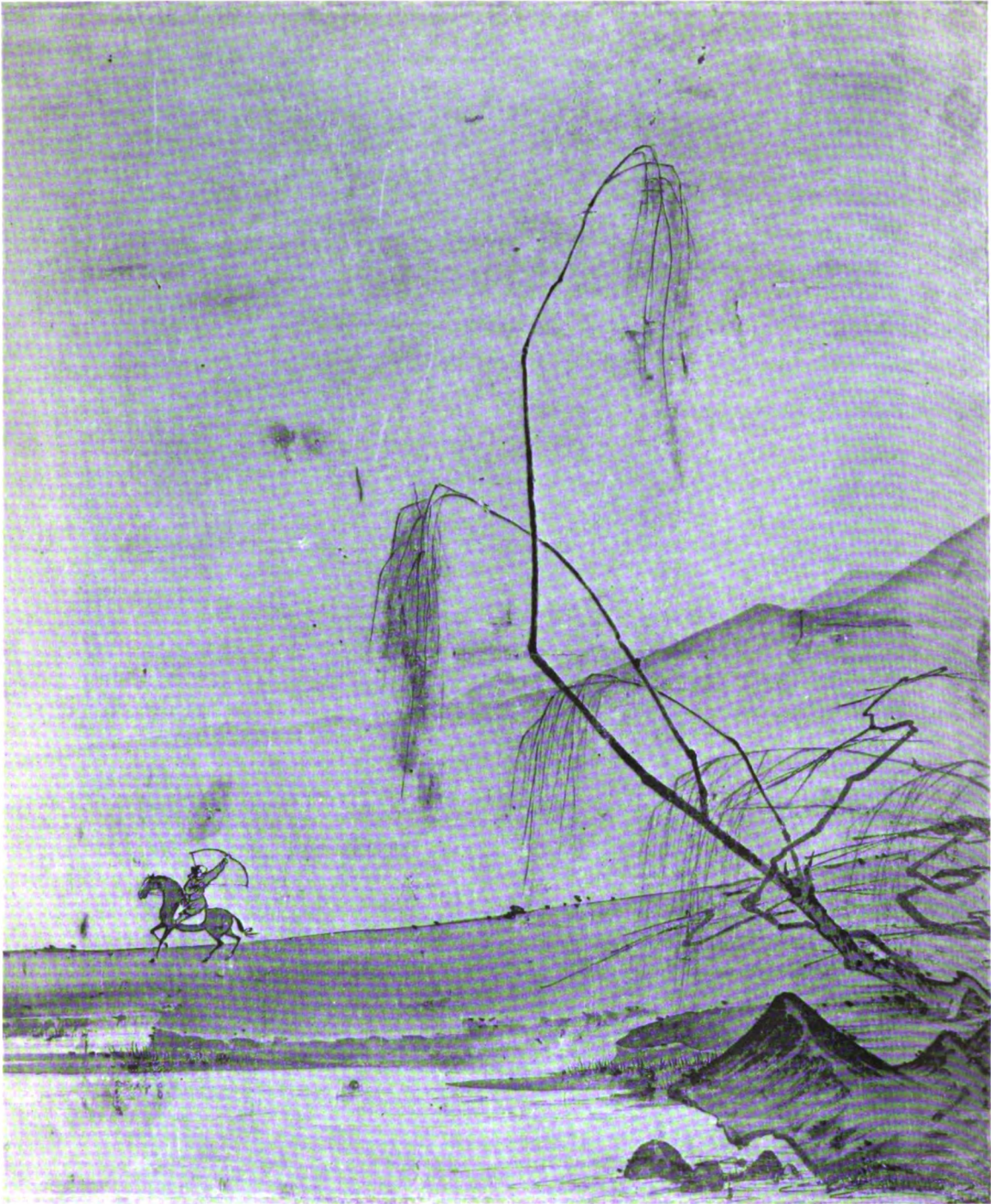


Fig. 2.

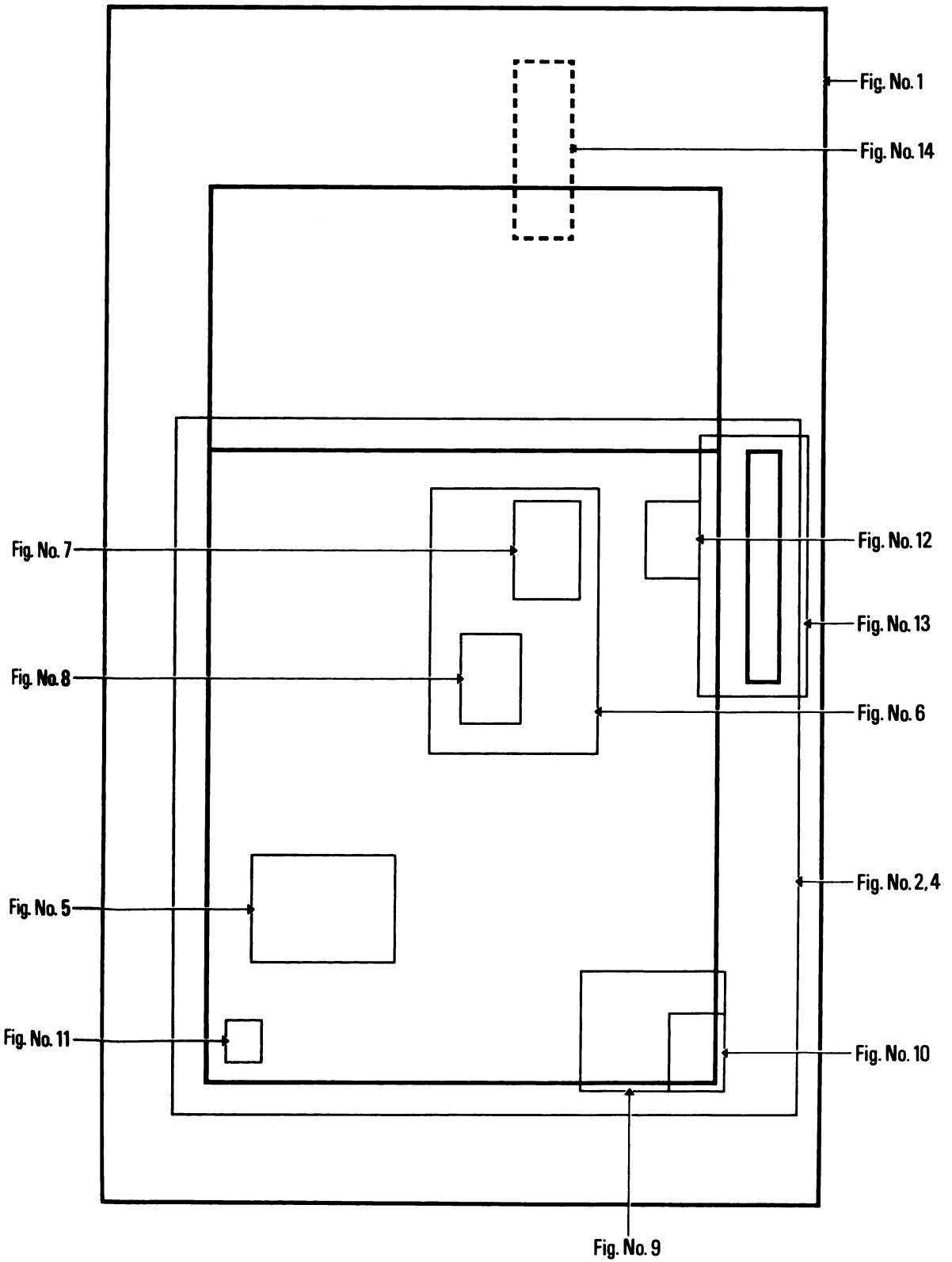


Fig. 3.

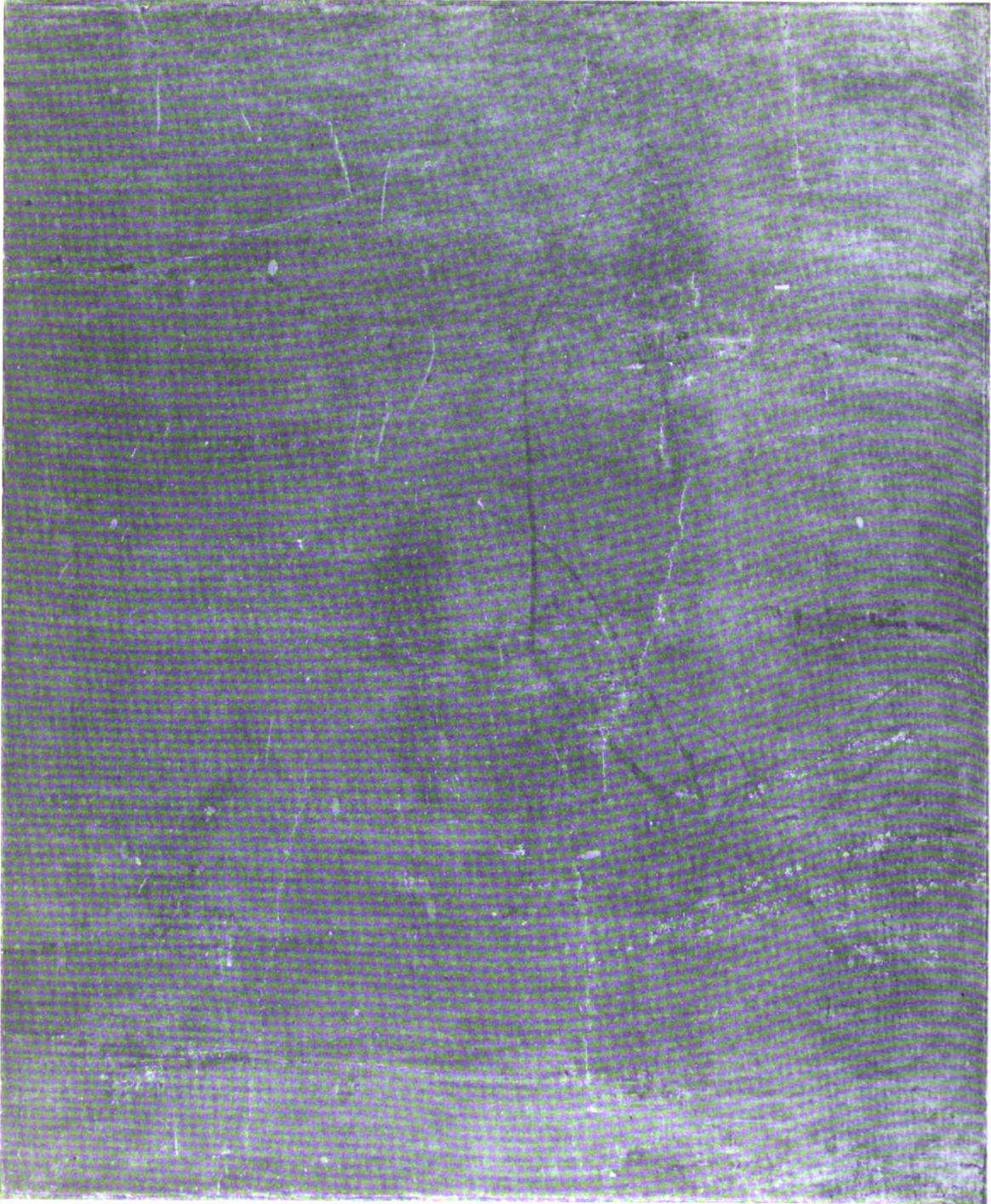


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

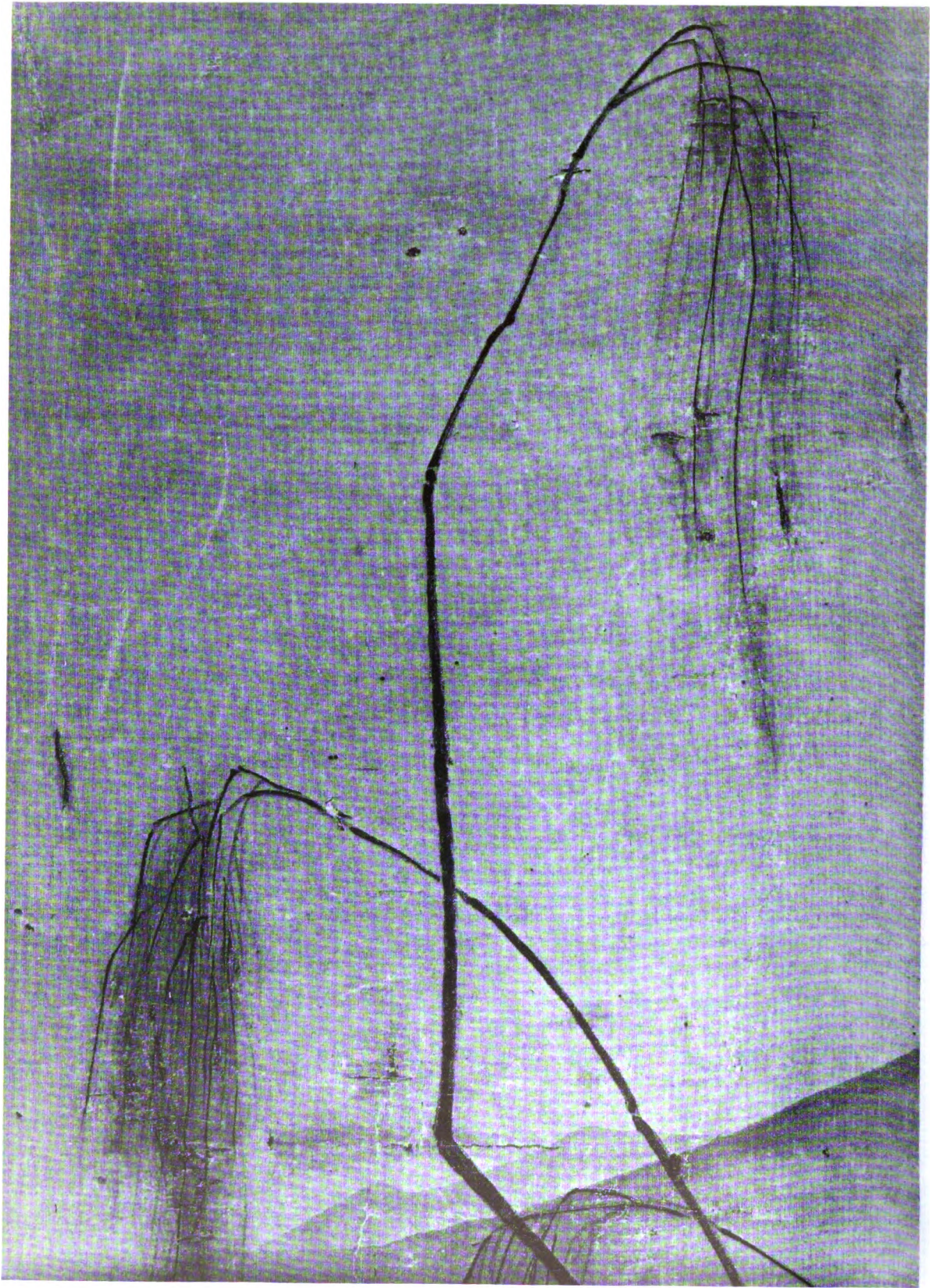


Fig. 6.

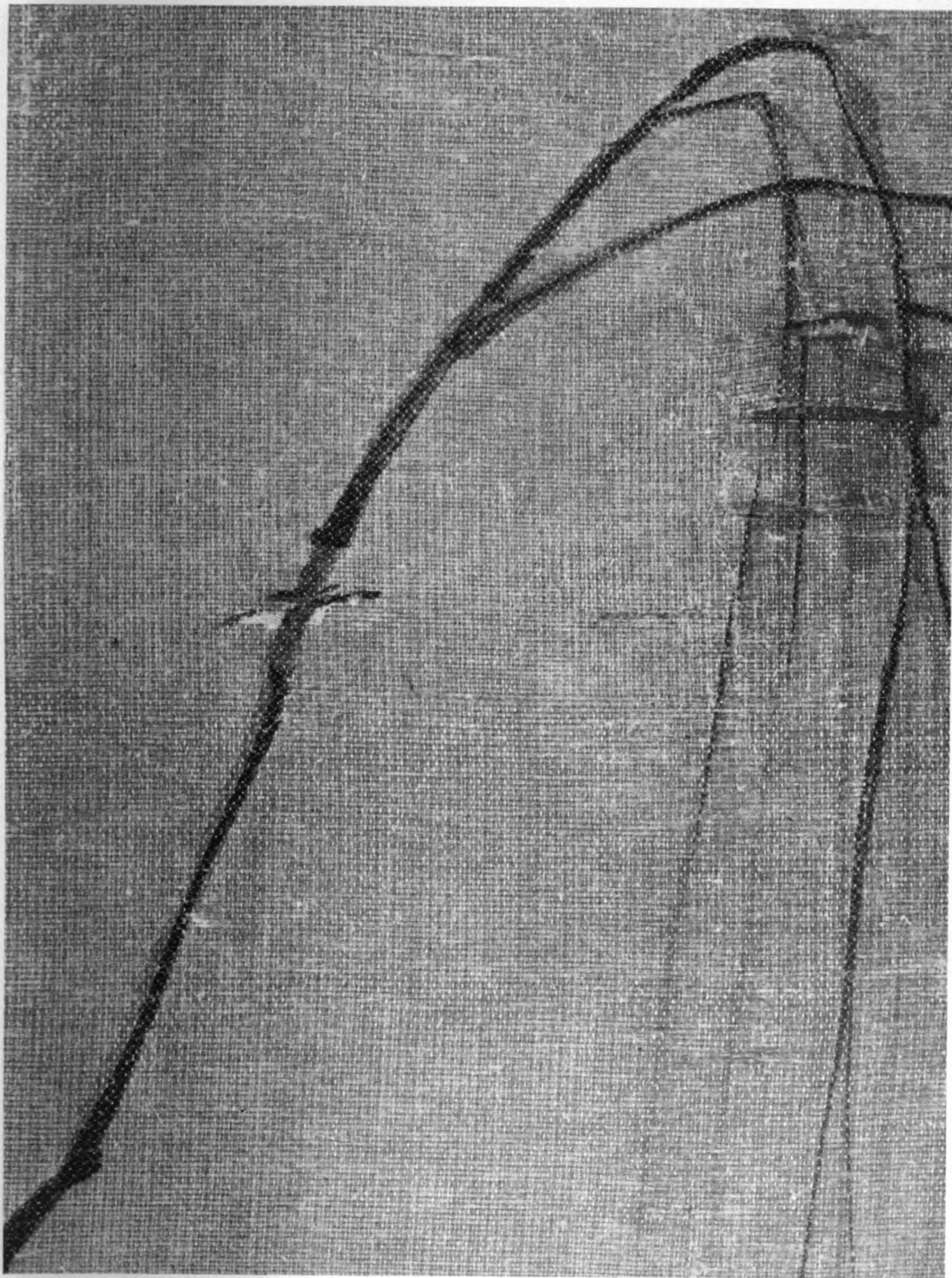


Fig. 7.

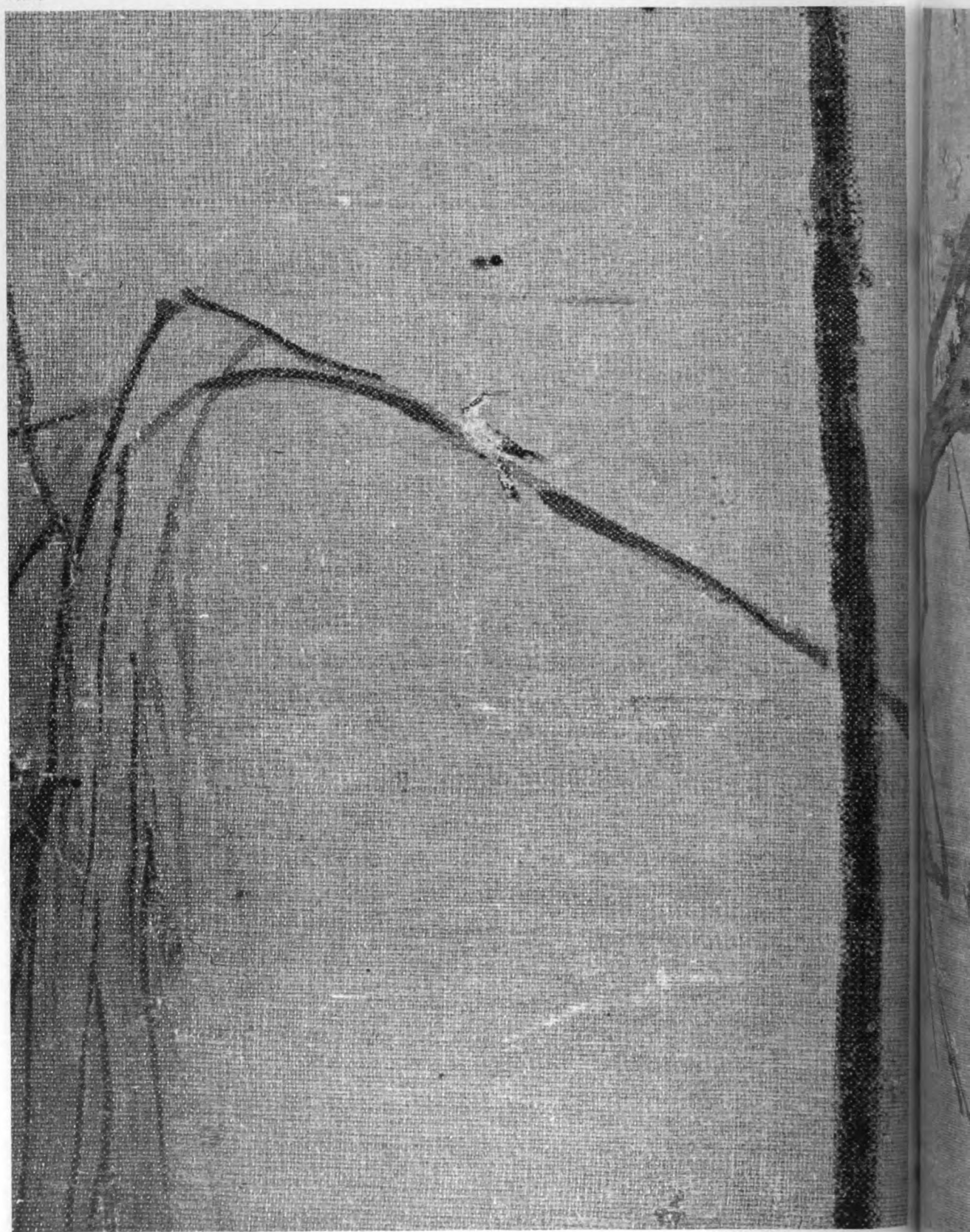


Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.

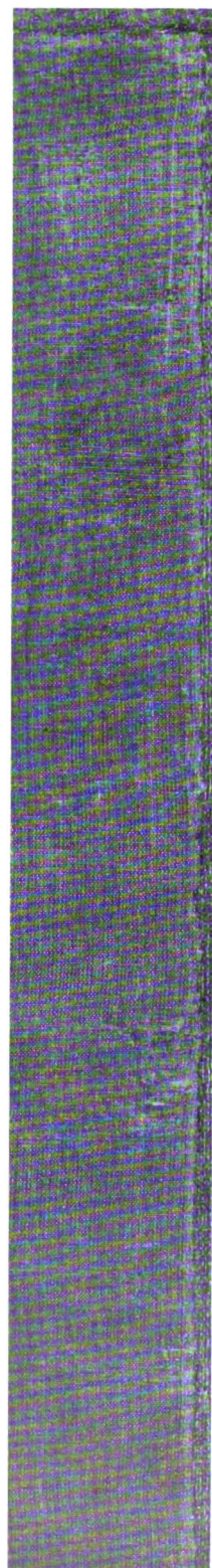


Fig. 13.

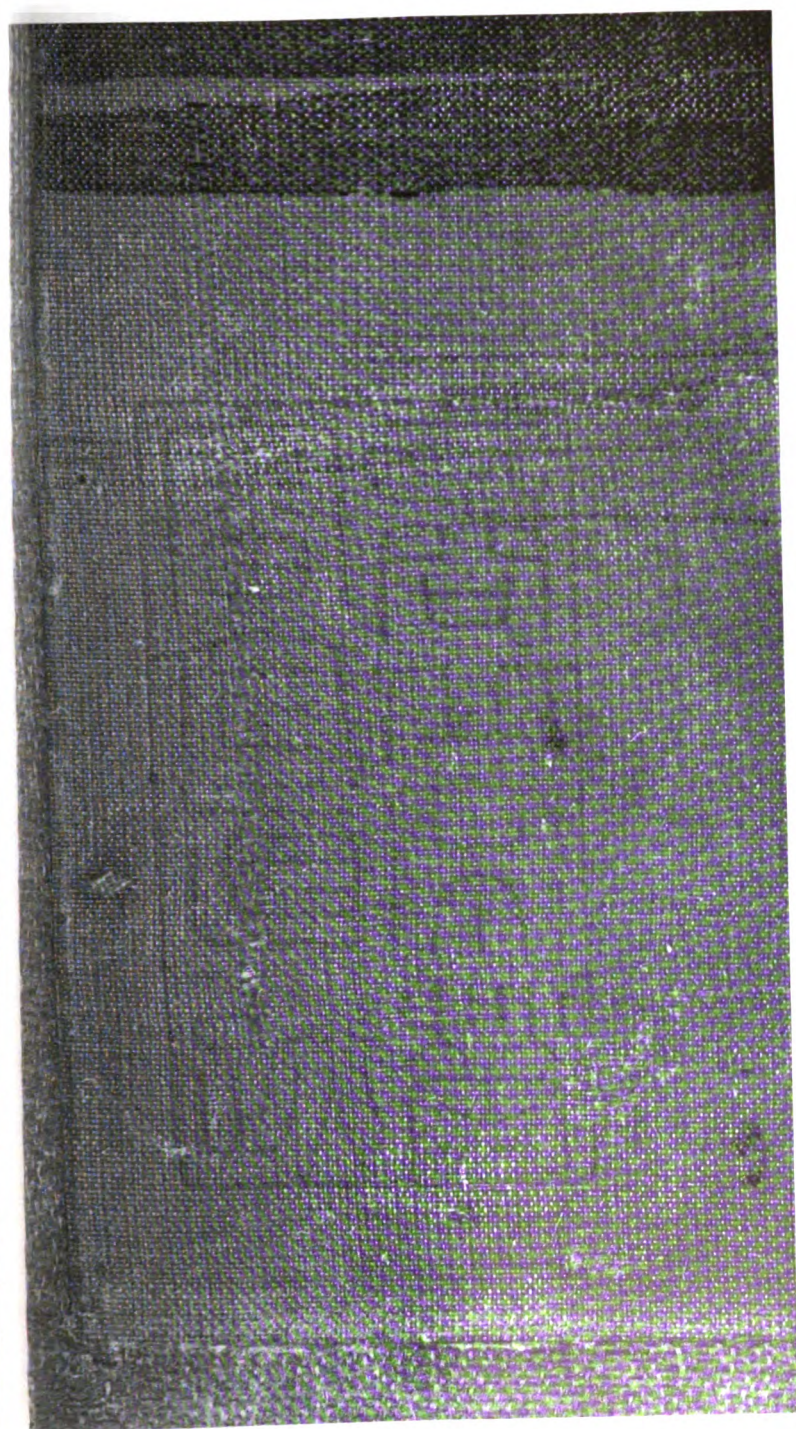


Fig. 11.

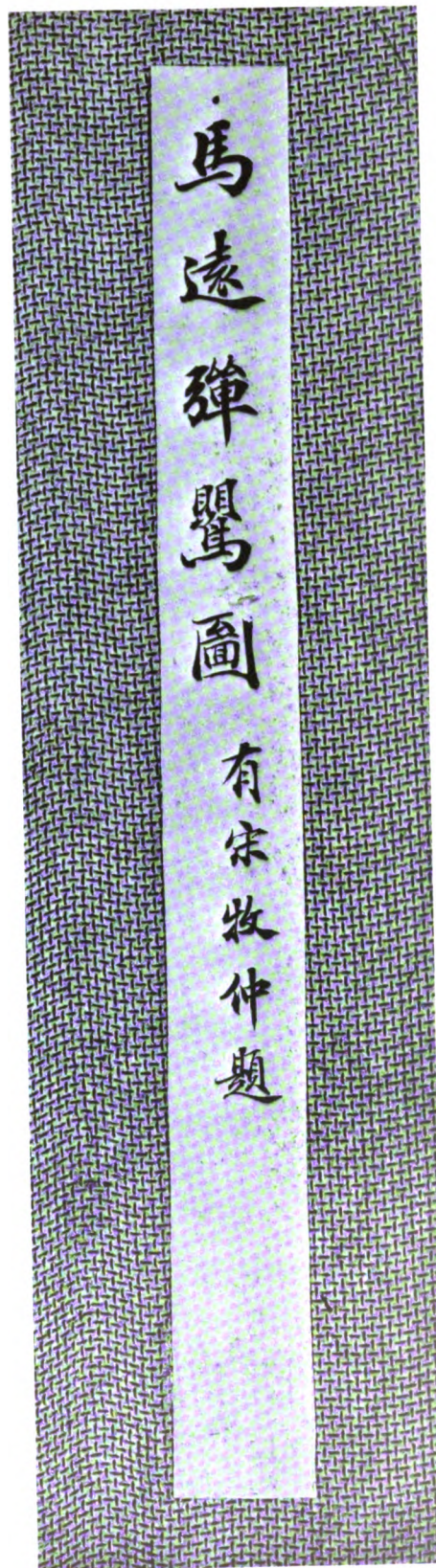


Fig. 14.

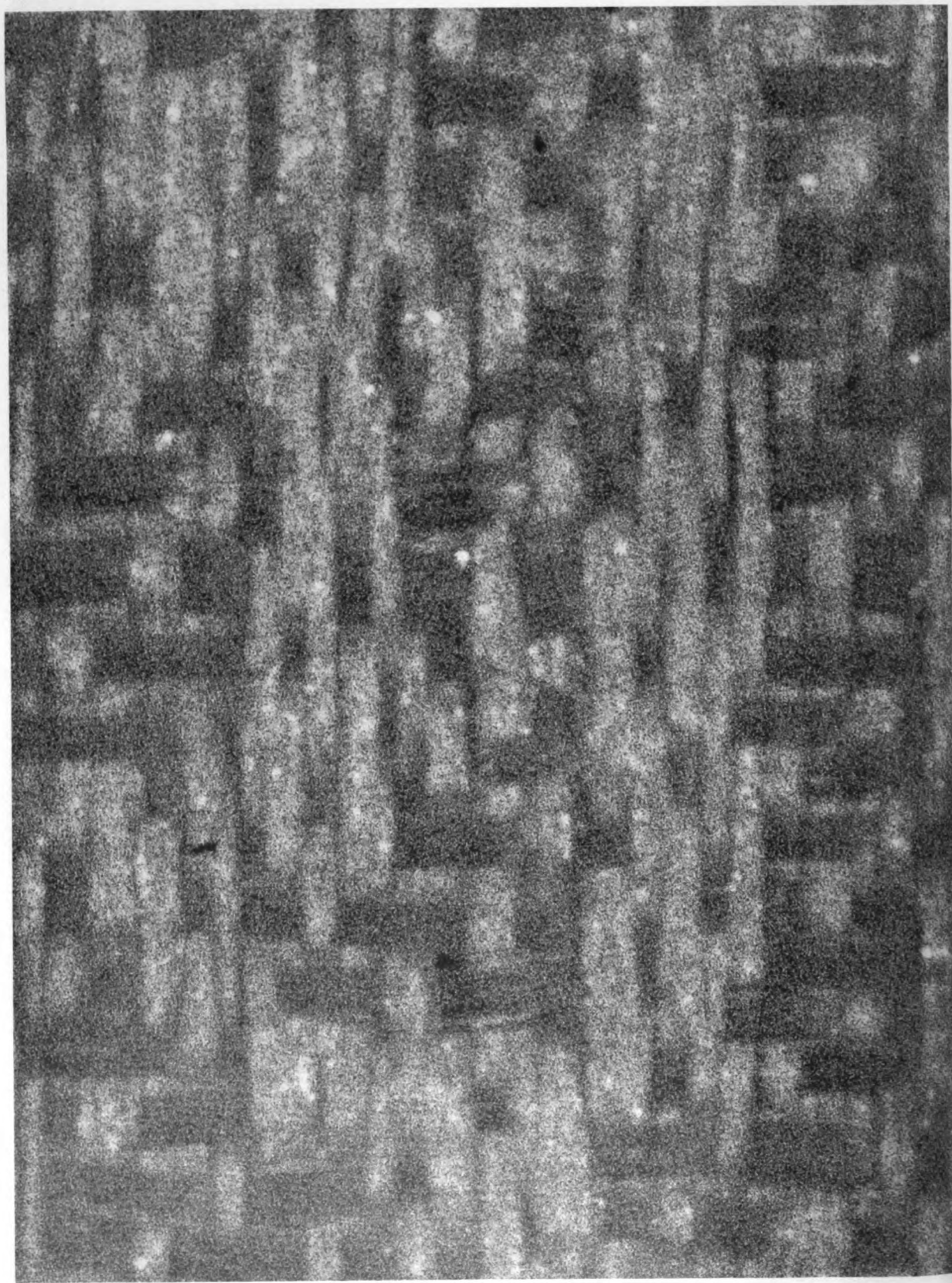


Fig. 12.

STUDIES ON THE GONGYANG AND GUULIANG COMMENTARIES III

by

GÖRAN MALMQVIST

This paper is a sequel to my articles "Studies on the Gongyang and Guuliang Commentaries I" (BMFEA 43 /1971/, 67–222) which presents annotated translations from the two texts, and "Studies on the Gongyang and Guuliang Commentaries II" (BMFEA 47 /1975/, 19–69) which presents various statistical tabulations, together with a comparative study of the different patterning of the formulaic expressions in the texts. This paper presents a comparison of the grammatical structures of the *Gongyang* and the *Guuliang*.

Whenever feasible the description of the various grammatical forms and constructions dealt with in this paper has been made exhaustive, in the sense that all occurrences of the particular form or construction have been accounted for. An exhaustive treatment of this kind inevitably yields much information which may seem trivial and extrinsic. At the same time it is bound to raise questions, the answers to which will prove useful for determining the grammatical and semantic idiosyncracies of the texts. The totality of such observations may eventually prove valuable for the dating of the texts and for determining their relations to other texts. By insisting on an exhaustive treatment the investigator is obliged to account for such enigmatic and difficult passages within his corpus as may otherwise have been dodged. In a number of instances my translations of puzzling passages have been marked as tentative or highly tentative.

Bernhard Karlgren's archaic reconstruction is given for each form, together with a reference to the *Grammata Serica Recensa* (GS). Karlgren's o-class finals -o, -io, -iwo, -ǎ and ǐǎ have been reinterpreted as -ǎg, -iǎg, -iǐwag, -ǎǎg, and -ǐǎǎg respectively.

All text examples are numbered consecutively. The location of each passage is given within parentheses after the translation of the passage. The signum (Jau 25.7) refers to the seventh entry of the 25th year of duke Jau in the Harvard-Yenching Index text. A summary of my findings is presented in tabular form on pages 00.

1.0 Sentence suffixes

1.1 Interrogative sentence suffixes

1.1.1 The interrogative sentence suffix GS 89b *zio (ziag)/yu*

1.1.1.1 *Gongyang yu* is found (a) in disjunctive questions (6:1–6); (b) in the pattern *Chyi ju x yu?*, “Could this possibly be x?” (6:7–12); (c) in subordinated clauses, with a function similar to that of the ‘dilemma *ba*’ of modern Chinese (2:13); and (d) elsewhere, serving to convert a statement into a question (6:14–19)

1. *Tzer wey jy chyi tzay Chyi yu Tsaur yu.* “But it is not known whether this /criticism/ applies to Chyi or to Tsaur.” (Hwan 9.4)
2. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Shiuan furen yu Cherng furen yu.* “But it is not known whether she was the spouse of /duke/ Shiuan or of /duke/ Cherng.” (Shiang 2.7)
3. *Tzer wey jy gongtzyy Shii-shyr tsornng yu gongtzyy Fuh-chu tsornng yu.* “But it was not known whether prince Shii-shyr or prince Fuh-chu had followed him.” (Jau 20.2)
4. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Wuu gong yu Yih gong yu.* “But it is not known whether she was /the spouse of/ duke Wuu or of duke Yih.” (Jau 31.6)
5. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Luu gongtzyy yu Juluih gongtzyy yu.* “But it is not known whether it was a prince of Luu or a prince of Juluih.” (Jau 31.6)
6. *Tzer wey jy chyi wey shyh yu, chyi ju jiuntzyy leh daw Yau Shuenn jy daw yu.* “It is not known, however, whether it was for this purpose /that the *Chuenchiou* was written/ or whether it perhaps could be that the superior man took pleasure in narrating the ways of Yau and Shuenn.” (Ai 14.1)
7. *Tzyy Gongyang tzyy iue: Chyi ju yii binq Hwan yu?* “Our master Gongyang says: ‘Could this /entry/ possibly be meant as an embarrassment to /duke/ Hwan?’” (Hwan 6.5)
8. *Tzyy Ruu tzyy iue: Yii Chuenchiou wei Chuenchiou. Chyi wu Jonqsuen. Chyi ju wu Jonqsuen yu?* “Our master Ruu says: ‘We must accept the *Chuenchiou* such as it is. There was no Jonqsuen /family/ in Chyi. Could this perhaps refer to /a member of/ the Jonqsuen /family/ of Luu?’” (Miin 1.6)
9. *Chyi ju shyhyuh yeou bwu tzay tseh jee yu?* “Could it perhaps be that one of your favourite attendants was not at your side?” (Shi 2.3)
10. *Luu tzyy iue: Shyh wang yee. Buh neng hwu muu jee, chyi ju tsyy jy wey yu?* “Master Luu says: ‘This was the king. Could the statement that he was unable to get along with his mother perhaps refer to this instance?’” (Shi 24.4)
11. *Tzyy Gongyang tzyy iue: Chyi ju wey chyi shuang shuang erl jiu jy yu?* “Our master Gongyang says: ‘Could it perhaps be on account of the fact that the two of them arrived together?’” (Shiuan 5.5)

12. *Chyi ju jiuntzyy leh daw Yau Shuenn jy daw yu?* "Or could it perhaps be that the superior man took pleasure in narrating the ways of Yau and Shuenn?" (Ai 14.1)
13. *Jiang tsorng shianjiun jy minq yu, tzer gwo yi jy Jih-tzyy jee yee; ru buh tsorng shianjiun jy minq yu, tzer woo yi lih jee yee.* "If we are to follow the command of our late lord, then the state should properly go to Jih-tzyy. But should we fail to follow the command of our late lord, then I am the one who should be set up as ruler." (Shiang 29.8)
14. *Tsyy fei nuh yu?* "Was this not an excessive display of anger?" (Juang 4.4)
15. *Jiun buh twu yu?* "Does not /your/ lord have plans /for an invasion of Luu/?" (Juang 13.4)
16. *Ran tzer shann jy yu?* "If so, does /the Chuenchiou/ then approve of him?" (Juang 32.2)
17. *Chiin buh an yu?* "Did you not sleep restfully?" (Shi 2.3)
18. *Yu Guo shiann yu?* "Did /the states of/ Yu and Guo appear before you?" (Shi 2.3)
19. *Ran tzer shyh wang jee yu?* "If so, was this one of the king's men?" (Wen 9.1)

1.1.1.2 Guuliang yu serves to convert a statement into a question (7:20–25).

20. *Shyh yehjong yu?* "Was it by midnight?" (Juang 7.3)
21. *Shyh Chyi hour yu?* "Was this the marquis of Chyi?" (Shi 1.2)
22. *Chyisy jy wey yu?* "Does it not refer to this /situation/?" (Shi 2.3; Jau 4.3)
23. *Dwu gong chaur yu?* "Did the duke pay court by himself?" (Shi 28.18)
24. *Huohjee gong yu?* "Was this someone perhaps the duke?" (Wen 4.2)
25. *Meng fuh fa Chyi yu?* "Did the covenant concern a second attack on Chyi?" (Shiang 19.2)

1.1.2 The interrogative sentence suffix GS 55a *g'o(g'âg)/hwu*

1.1.2.1 *Gongyang hwu* is found (a) in sentences which contain an interrogative form (6:26–31); (b) in an exclamative sentence (1:32); (c) elsewhere, serving to convert a statement into a question (27.33–56).

26. *Yeuan tzuu jee jii shyh hwu?* "By how many generations was this distant ancestor /separated from duke Shiang/?" (Juang 4.4)
27. *Jiun her chyau hwu?* "What do you demand, my lord?" (Juang 13.4)
28. *long der ruoh shyh hwu?* "How could /the succession/ possibly be resolved in this manner?" (Juang 32.3)
29. *Sheir wey wu shyh jiun jee hwu?* "Who says that I am the one who assassinated the ruler?" (Shiuan 6.1)

30. *Liau u der wei jiun hwu?* "How can Liau possibly have any claim to the title?" (Shiang 29.8)
31. *U yeou yan ren jy gwo shyan ruoh tsyy jee hwu?* "How can it be said that a man renowned all over the state for his worth would act in this manner?" (Jau 31.6; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
32. *Tian hwu!* "Oh, Heaven!" (Shiuan 6.1)
33. *Ran tzer Jih yeou muu hwu?* "If so, did /the marquis of/ Jih have a mother?" (Yiin 2.5)
34. *Shyy buh chin yng faang iu tsyy hwu?* "Was this /actually/ the first instance of /a prince's/ not meeting /his bride/ in person?" (Yiin 2.5)
35. *Shyy jiann jugong faang iu tsyy hwu?* "Was this /actually/ the first instance of an usurpation /of the rites proper to/ the ducal ministers?" (Yiin 5.5)
36. *Shee tsyy wu ley jee hwu?* "Apart from this /man/ were there no others who were implicated /and died for their lord/?" (Hwan 2.2; Juang 12.4; Shi 10.3)
37. *Shee Chyou-muh Shyun-shyi wu ley jee hwu?* "Apart from Chyou-muh and Shyun-shyi, were there no others who were implicated /and died for their lord/?" (Hwan 2.2)
38. *Ran tzer wei cheu kee yii wei chyi yeou hwu?* "If so, may then the mere act of taking possession /of land/ be regarded as /equivalent to the establishment of full/ ownership /of the land/?" (Hwan 2.5)
39. *Yih tzuw yii dang shii hwu?* "Is this also sufficient to constitute a joyful event?" (Hwan 3.10)
40. *You charng hwu?* "Should the Autumnal sacrifice yet be performed?" (Hwan 14.5)
41. *Jeou shyh you kee yii fuh chour hwu?* "Is it permissible to take revenge even after the lapse of nine generations?" (Juang 4.4)
42. *Jia yih kee hwu?* "Does this apply also to /the head of a great officer's/ household?" (Juang 4.4)
43. *Yeou ming Tiantzyy, tzer Shiang gong der wei ruoh shinq hwu?* "Would it have been possible for duke Shiang to act in this manner if there had been an enlightened Son of Heaven?" (Juang 4.4)
44. *Shyh jiang wei luann hwu?* "Will this /man/ start a rebellion?" (Juang 32.3)
45. *Shee Koong-fuu Chyou-muh wu ley jee hwu?* "Apart from Koong-fuu and Chyou-muh, were there no others who were implicated /and died for their lord/?" (Shi 10.3)
46. *Wei eel jiun jee bwu yih binq hwu?* "The one who is your ruler, is he not placed in an awkward position?" (Shi 10.5)
47. *Ran tzer Jou gong jy Luu hwu?* "If so, did the duke of Jou go to Luu?" (Wen 13.5)

48. *Ruh fwu shu hwu?* "Are incursions within the outer walls recorded /in the Chuenchiou/?" (Wen 15.12)
49. *Ruoh tsyy hwu?* "Is it like this?" (Shiuan 1.5)
50. *Wu nae shy min chern jy lih hwu?* "Would not that be to put the strength of your people and your subjects to wrong use?" (Shiuan 12.3)
51. *Yi chiu chiu jy Sonq you yeou buh chi ren jy chern, kee yii Chuu erl wu hwu?* "When even a small state like Sonq has ministers who refuse to lie, would it then be proper for a state like Chuu not to have /equally honest ministers/?" (Shiuan 15.2)
52. *Chyi ran hwu?* "Could it be thus?" (Cherng 15.2)
53. *Ruu neng guh nah gong hwu?* "Will you be able to reinstate the duke securely /in his former post/?" (Shiang 27.4)
54. *Tzyy kee yii buh mean woo syy hwu?* "Would you fail to help me escape from death?" (Dinq 8.16)
55. *Sheh tsyy kee hwu?* "Is it advisable to camp here?" (Dinq 8.16)
56. *Ran tzer Jer jy yih kee yii lih hwu?* "If so, would Jer be qualified to be established as ruler?" (Ai 3.1)

1.1.2.2 *Guuliang hwu* is found (a) in sentences which contain an interrogative form (3:57–59); (b) in conjunction with the modal form GS 952a *g'jæg/chyi* (4.60–63); (c) in exclamative sentences (2:64); (d) in disjunctive questions (1:65), and (e) elsewhere, serving to convert a statement into a question (20:66–85).

57. *Her wey yii jonq hwu?* "What could be considered too important?" (Hwan 3.8)
58. *Hwu buh shyy dahfu jianq weishyh erl wei joong hwu?* "Why do you not order a great officer to lead the guard and guard the grave?" (Shi 10.5)
59. *Shwu wei Duenn erl reen shyh chyi jiun jee hwu?* "Who says that I, Duenn, was cruel enough to assassinate my lord?" (Shiuan 2.4; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 186, note 2.4b)
60. *Ruu chyi jianq weishyh erl wanq wei joong hwu!* "You must lead the guard and go forward to guard the grave!" (Shi 10.5)
61. *Chyi buh kee hwu!* "This would not do!" (Wen 6.7)
62. *Bor-tzuen chyi wu ji hwu!* "Bor-tzuen ought not to have any descendants!" (Cherng 5.4; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 195, note 5.4e.)
63. *Chyi chu hwu!* "/He/ ought to be expelled!" (Shiang 23.11)
64. *Tian hwu! Tian hwu!* "Oh, Heaven! Oh, Heaven!" (Shiuan 2.4)
65. *Kee yii hwu wey hwu?* "Is it already permissible or is it not /yet permissible/?" (Juang 13.1)

66. *Ranq Hwan jenq hwu?* "Was it correct to yield /the title/ to Hwan?" (Yiin 1.1)
67. *Wu ji hwu?* "Is no criticism implied here?" (Hwan 3.7)
68. *Buh yii jonq hwu?* "Is /that/ not to consider /the occasion/ too important?" (Hwan 3.8)
69. *Jong gwo buh yan bay, Tsay hour chyi shiann mieh hwu?* "If the term *bay* ('to defeat') had not been used of a central state, would the capture of the marquis of Tsay then have been made evident?" (Juang 10.6)
70. *Tzer fei jy hwu?* "Does this then imply that /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers him in the wrong?" (Juang 30.7)
71. *Shyhtzyy show jy kee hwu?* "Was it proper for the heir-son to receive it?" (Shi 5.5)
72. *Furen jy, woo kee yii buh furen jy hwu?* "As to the reference to her as 'the spouse', did we have any other choice?" (Shi 8.4)
73. *Furen tzwu tzanq jy, woo kee yii buh tzwu tzanq jy hwu?* "As to the reference to the death and the burial of the spouse, did we have any other choice?" (Shi 8.4)
74. *Shyh yow jiang sha woo hwu?* "Might this /man/ not intend to kill me too?" (Shi 10.5)
75. *Buh kee mieh erl mieh jy hwu?* "Did /duke Hwan/ extinguish what must not be extinguished?" (Shi 17.2)
76. *Tzyy yeou wenn hwu?* "Have you, Sir, any information about this?" (Cherng 5.4)
77. *Furen shao bih huoo hwu?* "Ought you not make an attempt to escape the fire, my lady?" (Shiang 30.3, 2 instances)
78. *Kuanq iu Tiantzyy hwu?* "How much more would this apply to the Son of Heaven?" (Shiang 30.4)
79. *Yeou ruoh Chyi Chinq-feng shyh chyi jiun jee hwu?* "Is there anyone /here/ like Chinq-feng of Chyi who assassinated his lord?" (Jau 4.3)
80. *Yeou ruoh Chuu gongtzyy Wei shyh chyi shiong jy tzyy erl day jy wei jiun jee hwu?* "Is there anyone /here/ like prince Wei of Chuu who assassinated the son of his elder brother and replaced him as ruler?" (Jau 4.3)
81. *Yii wen kee hwu?* "Is it proper /for the ruler/ to hear of this?" (Jau 15.2)
82. *Jong gwo bwu bay, Hwu tzyy Kuen, Sheen tzyy Yng chyi mieh hwu?* "Would Kuen, the viscount of Hwu, and Yng, the viscount of Sheen, have been extinguished if the central states had not been defeated?" (Jau 23.7)
83. *Kuanq lin ju chern hwu?* "How much less would /he dare to/ appear before his assembled ministers?" (Dinq 1.4)
84. *Kuanq wey binn erl lin ju chern hwu?* "How much less would /he dare to/ appear before his assembled ministers before the completion of the lit-de-parade ceremony?" (Dinq 1.4)
85. *Wu neng wei jy, tzer buh chern hwu?* "If Wu was capable of this, did /its ruler/ not behave like a /true/ subject/?" (Ai 13.3)

1.2 Non-interrogative sentence suffixes

1.2.1 The non-interrogative sentence suffix GS 200a *gian/yan*

1.2.1.1 *Gongyang yan* is found (a) in the pattern *iu x yan*, “on the occasion of x” (16:86–101); (b) in the expression *wu shyr yan*, “at no time” (2:102–103); (c) in the cluster *yan eel* (see sub 1.2.2 below), and (d) elsewhere, invariably with resumptive reference (39:104–142)

86. *Yiin iu shyh yan erl tsyr lih, tzer wey jy Hwan jy jiang bih der lih yee.* “If Yiin on that occasion had rejected /their decision to/ establish him as ruler, then he would have had no reassurance that Hwan /at a later stage/ would be certain to be established as ruler.” (Yiin 1.1)
87. *Chiing tzuoh nann, shyh Yiin gong iu Jong-u jy jih yan.* “/I/ beg leave to create difficulties and to assassinate duke Yiin on the occasion of /his/ offering to Jong-u.” (Yiin 4.5)
88. *Iu chyi chu yan, shyy gongtzyy Pern-sheng sonq jy.* “When /the duke/ left /the marquis of Chyi/ ordered prince Pern-sheng to escort him.” (Juang 1.2)
89. *Iu chyi cherng yan shieh gann erl sha jy.* “When /the duke/ mounted his chariot /Pern-sheng/ broke his back and killed him.” (Juang 1.2)
90. *Niann muu jee suoo shann yee, tzer herwey iu chyi niann muu yan bean?* “Since to think of one’s mother is something of which /the *Chuenchiou*/ approves, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ degrade /him in this context where duke Juang is said to/ think of his mother?” (Juang 1.2)
91. *Yii Shiang gong jy wei iu tsyy yan jee shyh tzuunii jy shin jinn yii.* “Through duke Shiang’s action on this occasion his ambition to serve his ancestors had been fulfilled.” (Juang 4.4)
92. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan ji?* “Since both before and after this event there were matters /which involved contacts between the duke and the marquis of Chyi/, why is criticism expressed only on this occasion?” (Juang 4.7)
93. *Ran tzer herwey buh iu shyh yan bean?* “If so, why was he not degraded on the occasion of the assassination?” (Shi 1.10)
94. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan yeu Hwan gong wei juu?* “Since both before and after this event there were matters /of the same nature/, why is duke Hwan represented as host only on this occasion?” (Shi 4.4)
95. *Ran tzer herwey buh iu jih yan ji?* “If so, why was criticism not expressed on the occasion of the sacrifice?” (Wen 2.8)
96. *Yii ren shin wei jie yeou jy, tzer herwey dwu iu chiuhan yan ji?* “Since these /feelings/ are considered common to all human hearts, why is criticism expressed only on the occasion of his taking a wife?” (Wen 2.8)

97. *Yii wei yeou ren shin yan jee, tzer yi iu tsyy yan biann yii.* "It was considered that since human feelings were involved it would be proper to affect a change on this occasion." (Wen 2.8)
98. *Ran tzer herwey buh iu chyi shyh yan bean?* "If so, why was he not degraded on the occasion of the assassination?" (Shiuan 8.4; Jau 1.2)
99. *Chyi ju tzer yi iu tsyy yan biann yii.* "Could it perhaps be that it was proper for the vicissitude to appear on this occasion?" (Shiuan 15.9)
100. *Iu chyi guei yan yonq shyh hwu her.* "When he returned he sacrificed to /the spirit of/ the River." (Dinq 4.14)
101. *Iu chyi cherng yan Jihsuen wey Lin-nan iue:* "When he mounted the chariot Jihsuen spoke to Lin-nan, saying:" (Dinq 8.16)
102. *Wu shyr yan kee yee.* "At no time can /such an action/ be allowed." (Hwan 2.5)
103. *Chour jee wu shyr yan kee yeu tong.* "At no time is it permissible to communicate with one's feud enemy." (Juang 4.7)
104. *Guraang jy jann Yiin gong huoh yan.* "Duke Yiin was captured at the battle at Guraang." (Yiin 6.1)
105. *Tayshan jy shiah juh hour jie yeou tangmuh jy yih yan.* "All the feudal lords had rest-cities below Mount Tay." (Yiin 8.2)
106. *Tiantzyy jy jiau juh hour jie yeou choursuh jy yih yan.* "In the suburbs /of the capital/ of the Son of Heaven all the feudal lords had their rest-cities there." (Hwan 1.4)
107. *Jie syy yan.* "Both died there." (Hwan 2.2)
108. *Jiuntzyy yi yan.* "The superior man was in doubt about this." (Hwan 5.1)
109. *Yii cheu chyi gwo erl chian Jenq yan.* "In consequence /of this, the earl of Jenq/ took his territory and moved his own state there." (Hwan 11.4)
110. *Shy sanq fenn yan.* "One half of the army shall be lost." (Juang 4.4)
111. *Ran tzer Chyi Jih wu shuo yan.* "Since this was so, /the rulers of/ Chyi and Jih had no statements to make on this occasion." (Juang 4.4)
112. *Guh tzer chyi jonq jee erl ji yan.* "Therefore /the Chuenchiou/ selects /the incident which warranted/ the most severe /criticism/ and applies its criticism there." (Juang 4.7)
113. *Hwan gong jy shinn juh hwu tianshiah, tzyh Ge jy meng shyy yan.* "That the trust in duke Hwan was made known throughout the world originated with the meeting at Ge." (Juang 13.4)
114. *Jiun her iou yan?* "Why do you worry over this, my lord?" (Juang 32.3)
115. *Jiang erl ju yan.* "If /a relative of a ruler/ plots against him he must be executed." (Juang 32.3)
116. *Bwu tann chyi chyng erl ju yan, chin chin jy daw yee.* "To execute /a relative/ without having investigated all the circumstances /of his crime/ accords with the principle of treating close relatives with affection." (Miin 1.1)

117. *Shiann gong chaur ju dahfu erl wenn yan.* "Duke Shiann summoned all his great officers to his court and asked them /as follows/." (Shi 2.3)
118. *Jiun her sanq yan?* "What would you lose by that, my lord?" (Shi 2.3)
119. *Shyun-shyi fuh yan.* "Shyun-shyi was their teacher." (Shi 10.3)
120. *Shyh Wen Wang jy suoo bih feng yeu jee. Wu jiang shy eel yan.* "That is the place where King Wen sheltered from wind and rain. We shall collect your bodies there." (Shi 33.3)
121. *Ling gong shin tzuoh yan.* "Duke Ling was shamed in his heart over this." (Shiun 6.1)
122. *Yeongshyh ruh chyi dahmen, tzer wu ren men yan jee.* "When the brave soldier entered his main gate, there was no one there to guard it." (Shiuan 6.1)
123. *Shanq chyi tarng tzer wu ren yan.* "When he went up to the hall there was no one there."
124. *Ruh chyi guei tzer wu ren guei yan jee.* "When he entered his inner apartment there was nobody there to guard it." (Shiuan 6.1)
125. *Wu ruh tzyy jy dahmen tzer wu ren yan.* "When I entered your main gate there was no one there." (Shiuan 6.1)
126. *Ruh tzyy jy guei tzer wu ren yan.* "When /I/ entered your inner apartment there was no one there." (Shiuan 6.1)
127. *Shanq tzyy jy tarng tzer wu ren yan.* "When /I/ went up to your hall, there was no one there." (Shiuan 6.1)
128. *Wu jiang guan yan.* "I want to have a look at it." (Shiuan 6.1)
129. *Shyy shuay yi ell dyelao erl swei yan.* "Make /me/ take with me one or two old persons and live there in peace." (Shiuan 12.3)
130. *Jiuh ju dahfu erl wenn yan.* "He gathered all his great officers and asked them /as follows/." (Cherng 15.2)
131. *Jih-tzyy shyy erl wang yan.* "On this occasion Jih-tzyy had gone abroad on a mission." (Shiang 29.8)
132. *Sonq tzai. Bor Ji tzwu yan.* "There was a fire in Sonq. The eldest daughter /of duke Cherng of Luu/ died in it." (Shiang 30.6)
133. *Bor Ji tswen yan.* "The eldest daughter /of duke Cherng of Luu/ resided there." (Shiang 30.6)
134. *Jiang erl bih ju yan.* "When /a relative of a ruler/ plots against him he must be executed." (Jau 1.2)
135. *Jiuntzyy chyy bwu yuh yan.* "The superior man shames /the duke/ for not having participated in the meeting." (Jau 13.5)
136. *Jiun wu duo ruh yan.* "You must beware not to humiliate /the Jih clan/ too much!" (Jau 25.7)
137. *Chiee fwu niou maa wei liuh woei jii jee erl rou yan.* "And furthermore, oxen and horses are gentle only towards the one who regularly feeds them." (Jau 25.7; my previous translation of this passage, in *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 204, is mistaken.)

138. *Jong shyh erl bay yan*. “/The duke/ eventually /attempted to/ assassinate /the head of the Jih clan/, but was defeated by him.” (Jau 25.7)
139. *Shu-shuh jyue yan*. “Shu-shuh became aware of this.” (Jau 31.6)
140. *Yeou tzyy yan*. “/He/ had a son with her.” (Jau 31.6)
141. *Yeou meei chyau yan*. “There was a beautiful furcoat there.” (Dinq 4.14)
142. *Chiing yii shyh yan*. “/I/ request permission to show it to you.” (Ai 6.8)

1.2.1.2 *Guuliang yan* is found (a) as a word suffix (2:143–144); (b) in the pattern *iu x yan*, “on the occasion x” (1:145); (c) in conjunction with *ruoh*, “as if” (1:146), and (d) elsewhere, invariably with resumptive reference (50:147–196).

143. *Goouyan yii ruh ren wei jyh jee, ren yih ruh jy yii*. “The one who recklessly sets his mind on entering the territory of others will in turn have his own territory invaded.” (Yiin 2.3)
144. *Yii jonqyan yan jy yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ speaks of him in terms relating to a multitude.” (Wen 11.6)
145. *Iu liann yan huay miaw*. “On the occasion of the *liann* ceremony the shrine was destroyed.” (Wen 2.2)
146. *Ruoh yan jong gwo yan, ney Jenq yee*. “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ here speaks of /the city of Huu-lau/ as if it belonged to the central states is in order to include Jenq in the interior.” (Shiang 2.9).
147. *Shann tzer chyi buw jenq yan her yee?* “Since he was good, how can he be represented as incorrect in this regard?” (Yiin 1.1)
148. *Wu-gai jy ming wey yeou wen yan*. “Nothing has been heard about the reason why Wu-gai is referred to by his personal name.” (Yiin 8.10)
149. *Wu shyh yan heryii shu?* “Since there was no /major/ event at this time, why was the entry made?” (Yiin 9.6; Hwan 1.7)
150. *Cheu buh cherng shyh jy tsyr erl jia jy yan*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ chooses an expression denoting an unaccomplished event and adds it to the description.” (Hwan 2.4)
151. *Syh shyh jy tyan yonq san yan*. “At the hunting of the four seasons one used three portions /of the game/.” (Hwan 4.1)
152. *Chyi buh yan shyy yan her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not refer to him as an envoy?” (Hwan 8.6)
153. *Fwu charng bih yeou jian shyun jy shyh yan*. “The preparations for the Autumnal sacrifice would necessarily extend over two ten-day periods.” (Hwan 14.5)
154. *Her bih yan?* “What necessity was there in this regard?” (Juang 3.3)
155. *Tzuen jee cheu tzuen cheng yan*. “Those in noble position choose an appellation proper to their status.” (Juang 3.3)

156. *Bei jee cheu bei cheng yan.* "Those in a low position choose an appellation proper to their status." (Juang 3.3)
157. *Her yi yan?* "What was there to doubt in this?" (Juang 13.1)
158. *Taur lai tzer her jyh yan?* "What was there to record with respect to the fact that /he/ arrived as a refugee?" (Juang 17.1)
159. *Her dah yan?* "What was there to magnify in this?" (Juang 18.2)
160. *Jia mihshyr yan.* "One applied the whetstone to them." (Juang 24.1)
161. *Chyi buh yan Wei jy chian yan her yee?* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that /the capital of/ Wei was moved there?" (Shi 2.1)
162. *Her tzuen yan?* "In what respect was he noble?" (Shi 5.4)
163. *Yun kee yii jonq jy tswen yan.* "That is to say that someone who should be treated as important resided there." (Shi 5.4)
164. *Her jonq yan?* "In what respect was he important?" (Shi 5.4)
165. *Hwan buh chern, wang shyhtzyy buh tzyy, tzer chyi suoo shann yan her yee?* "Since /duke/ Hwan did not behave as a /proper/ subject and the heir-son of the king did not behave as a /proper/ son, in what respect does /the *Chuenchiou*/ approve of them?" (Shi 5.5)
166. *Yih tzer yii tzungmiaw lin jy erl how bean yan, yih tzer yii way jy fwu furen erl shiann jenq yan.* "On the one hand blame was /later/ expressed on account of the fact that /the duke/ introduced her into his ancestral temple, and on the other hand her correct status had been made manifest by the fact that an Exterior state had refused to refer to her as the spouse /of the duke/." (Shi 8.4)
167. *Ru jia lih yih yan, mean buh tzuw daw yee.* "If one had brought strong military might to bear on Liang, the fact that the ruler was dissipated had not been worthy of mention." (Shi 19.7)
168. *Woo wu jia soen yan.* "I have neither added anything to nor subtracted anything from /this description/." (Shi 19.7)
169. *Tzer jonq bay erl shen shang yan.* "Thus his hosts were defeated and he himself was wounded on this occasion." (Shi 22.4)
170. *Her jonq yan?* "What was important in this regard?" (Shi 26.5)
171. *Jyi way jy fwu furen erl shiann jenq yan.* "Her true status was revealed by the fact that an Exterior state refused to refer to her as the spouse /of the duke/." (Wen 9.14)
172. *Yii wu ren jy tswen yan daw jy yee.* "The *Chuenchiou* mentions this on account of the fact that men from our state were present on this occasion." (Shiuan 15.2)
173. *Yii wang minq sha tzer her jyh yan?* "Why was this record warranted by the fact that the killing was executed on the command of the king?" (Shiuan 15.5)
174. *Jiing, tzaw, tsong, jeou jinn cheu yan.* "The water from/ the well, /the fuel for/ the stove, onions and leeks were all derived from it." (Shiuan 15.8)

175. *Yii wu jy syh dahfu tzay yan.* “/This/ was on account of the fact that four of our great officers were present on this occasion.” (Cherng 2.3)
176. *Fwu shenn shenn jy tsyr yan, Chyi yeou yii cheu jy yee.* “Chyi was itself to a certain degree responsible for this situation /which is here/ described in so aggravating terms.” (Cherng 2.4)
177. *Jinn jiun jaw Bor-tzuen erl wenn yan.* “The ruler of Jinn summoned Bor-tzuen and asked him /about this/.” (Cherng 5.4)
178. *Bor-tzuen shiah che erl wenn yan.* “Bor-tzuen got down from his chariot and asked him /this question/.” (Cherng 5.4)
179. *Bor-tzuen you jong wenn yan.* “Bor-tzuen continued to ask him sincere questions.” (Cherng 5.4)
180. *Jih erl tsyr yan.* “Thereafter you should perform a sacrifice there.” (Cherng 5.4)
181. *Fei wei erl iue wei, Chyi yeou dah yan, yih yeou binq yan.* “The unwarranted use of the term *wei* (‘to besiege’) indicates recognition of the fact that Chyi was greater than them (sc. the besieging states) and also that it was embarrassed by them.” (Shiang 18.4; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
182. *Fei dah erl tzwu torng yan?* “Unless /Chyi/ were great, would the joint /siege/ have been warranted?” (Shiang 18.4; my translation, which follows Jong Wen-jeng’s paraphrase, is tentative.)
183. *Her jiow yan?* “What was there to rescue in this regard?” (Shiang 30.9)
184. *Yun kee yii jonq jy tswen yan.* “That is to say that someone who should be treated as important resided there.” (Jau 8.1)
185. *Tiantzyy cheu sanshyr yan.* “The Son of Heaven takes thirty thereof.” (Jau 8.6)
186. *Wangfuh yow erl sha yan, fuh jyr erl yonq yan.* “His grandfather was enticed and killed by him, and his father was seized and used as a sacrificial victim by him.” (Jau 21.6)
187. *Her juh yan?* “What was there to make manifest in this regard?” (Dinq 1.4)
188. *Iu lih jy jong yow yeou yih yan.* “The principles of righteousness apply also in a dangerous situation.” (Dinq 1.4)
189. *Jiun chin shuay ju dahfu daw jy erl yii chiing yan.* “The lord leads his great officers in person, and conducting them he makes his request /for rain/ to him.” (Dinq 1.6)
190. *Goaren chiing wei chyan lieh yan.* “I request leave to take my place at the front on that occasion.” (Dinq 4.14)
191. *Koong-tzyy shianq yan.* “Master Koong assisted /the duke/ on that occasion.” (Dinq 10.3)
192. *Shyy sy-maa shyng faa yan.* “/And so Master Koong/ ordered the *sy-maa* to apply the punishment of the law on him.” (Dinq 10.3)
193. *Buh jing moh dah yan.* “No disrespect could be greater than this.” (Dinq 15.2)

194. *Iu biann jy jong yow yeou yan yan.* “Even among the irregularities /which were involved in the *Jiau* sacrifice/ there were /elements which may be/ discussed.” (Ai 1.4; my earlier translation of this passage, in *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 216, is probably faulty. The present version follows Fann Ning’s paraphrase, for which see *op.cit.*, p. 219, note 1.4a.)
195. *Chuenchiou yeou lin tianshiah jy yan yan, yeou lin yih gwo jy yan yan, yeou lin yih jia jy yan yan.* “In the *Chuenchiou* there are statements which pertain to the entire realm, there are statements which pertain to one single state, and there are statements which pertain to one single household.” (Ai 7.4)
196. *Chyi yan lai jee yeou way Luu jy tsyr yan.* “In using the term *lai* (‘to come’) /the *Chuenchiou*/ has chosen an expression which implies that Luu belongs to the Exterior.” (Ai 7.4)

1.2.2 The sentence suffix GS 359a *njār/eel*

1.2.2.1 Gongyang *eel* is found (a) in the cluster *eel yee* which carries an affirmative connotation (3:197–199); (b) as a sentence suffix with affirmative connotation (13:200–212); (c) in the cluster *yan eel* (22:213–228); (d) in the cluster *yun eel* which marks quotations of direct speech and invariably occurs in conjunction with *you iue*, “/this/ is the same as saying” (2:229–230); (e) in the pattern *Her Verb eel?* (73:231–243); and (f) as a sentence suffix which appears to be synonymous with *eel yii* (see sub 1.2.4) (15:244–258).

197. *Twu guei yu shu eel yee.* “She returned alone to her husband’s younger brother.” (Juang 12.1)
198. *Gong yuh wei eel yee.* “The duke participated in the undertaking.” (Shi 21.8)
199. *Gong yuh yih eel yee.* “The duke participated in the deliberations.” (Shi 21.8)
200. *Chih jy yeu ren, fei yeou jyi eel.* “The connexion between objects and owner is such that the ownership may not be immediately established.” (Hwan 2.5; my translation is tentative. Cf *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 113, note 2.5c.)
201. *Gay Denq yuh huey eel.* “It was actually so that /the lord of/ Denq took part in the meeting.” (Hwan 2.8)
202. *Moh yan eel.* “/This/ is a minimizing expression.” (Hwan 15.9; Cherng 16.7)
203. *Herwey moh yan eel?* “Why use a minimizing expression?” (Hwan 15.9; Shi 3.5)
204. *Juu fuh tzy, sheh, buh jyi tzuey eel.* “/The marquis of Wei/ claimed illness, stayed /where he was/, and did not submit to punishment.” (Hwan 16.5)

205. *Gongtzyy Ya jin jiang eel*. "Prince Ya on this occasion plotted /to assassinate Ban/." (Juang 32.3)
206. *Jin jiang eel*. "On this occasion /he/ plotted /an assassination/." (Miin 1.1; 2.3; Jau 1.2)
207. *Gong yuh wei eel nay her?* "Under what circumstances did the duke participate in the undertaking?" (Shi 21.8)
208. *Gong buh der wei jenq eel*. "The duke was not in position to execute his government." (Shi 30.9; Shiang 12.2)
209. *Gay Jenq yuh huey eel*. "It was actually so that /the lord of/ Denq took part in the meeting." (Shiang 11.8)
210. *Jyh erl jiun jy eel*. "Upon his arrival /Jih-tzyy/ treated /Liau/ as the /rightful/ ruler." (Shiang 29.8)
211. *Jie chiunshyun bee miann tzay bay chii shoou erl jiun jy eel*. "All /the great officers/ retreated a few steps, faced north and saluted twice, bowed their heads to the ground and treated him as their ruler." (Ai 6.8)
212. *Luh tzyy jy wei shann yee gong tzuw yii wang eel*. (Shiuan 15.3) I fail to make sense of this passage. The Harvard-Yenching Index text editors punctuate after yee. Wang Yiin-jy (*Jing yih shuh wen*) punctuates after gong, which he considers a loan for GS 1006h *g'iong/chyong*, "reduce to extremety", thus "The good endeavours of the viscount of Luh came to a dead end, which warranted the destruction /of his state/."
213. *Tuo shyy yan eel*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ marks this instances as the first." (Yiin 2.3, 2 instances)
214. *Herwey tuo shyy yan eel?* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ mark this instance as the first?" (Yiin 2.3; 2.5)
215. *Wu wen yan eel*. "Nothing has been heard about him." (Yiin 2.7; Hwan 14.3; Wen 4.11)
216. *Jiun tswen yan eel*. "The ruler resided there." (Hwan 7.1; Juang 2.2; Shi 2.3)
217. *Luh yan eel*. "/It/ was registered /by the court scribe/." (Juang 2.3)
218. *Herwey luh yan eel?* "Why was it registered /by the court scribe/?" (Juang 2.3)
219. *Chyi shyr woo donq yan eel*. "As a matter of fact we were affected by the event." (Wen 15.2)
220. *Tswen chyi shin yan eel*. "/He/ had his heart set on the matter." (Shiuan 8.6)
221. *Tswen chyi shin yan eel jee her?* "What is meant by the expression '/He/ had his heart set on the matter'?" (Shiuan 8.6)
222. *Yuehchih tsarng yan eel*. "The music instrument were stored there." (Shiuan 16.2)
223. *Der yih bean yan eel*. "/He/ suffered one degradation on this occasion." (Cherng 2.10)

224. *Chyi tsyr tzer Chiou yeou tzuey yan eel*. "As for the expressions /of praise and blame, I/, Chiou, am responsible for them." (Jau 12.1)
225. *Chyi yih buh dang, tzer herwey jia shyh yan eel?* "Since his intention was not to become ruler, why, then, has the charge of having assassinated his ruler been placed upon him?" (Jau 13.3)
226. *Jyy jinn yaw erl yaw sha, tzer herwey jia shyh yan eel?* "Since Jyy presented medicine and the medicin killed /his father/, why then has the charge of having assassinated /his father/ been placed upon him?" (Jau 19.5)
227. *Shyh yii jiuntzyy jia shyh yan eel*. "Therefore the superior man charges him with having assassinated /his father/." (Jau 19.5)
228. *Juuren shyi chyi dwu erl wenn chyi juann, tzer wey jy jii jy yeou tzuey yan eel*. "When the masters /of the state of Luu/ familiarized themselves with his writings and enquired into what he had transmitted, they would be unaware of the fact that they themselves were blamed in it." (Dinq 1.1)

In all these instances (sentences 213–228) it is possible to interpret *yan* as a fusion of the preposition GS 61e *io* (*iag*)/*iu* and a following demonstrative form.

229. *You iue: wu chiuu shyh yun eel*. "/This/ is the same as saying: 'Do not leave this place!'" (Shiuan 1.5)
230. *You iue: show jy yun eel*. "/This/ is the same as saying: 'We have received this (sc. the warning sent by Heaven)'." (Shiuan 15.9)
231. *Ran tzer her yan eel?* "If so, why was this statement made?" (Yiin 1.4; 5.4; Shiuan 1.5)
232. *Her ji eel?* "What was there to criticize?" (Yiin 2.5; and passim, in all 37 instances)
233. *Her uei eel?* "What danger was there?" (Yiin 3.7, and elsewhere, in all 4 instances)
234. *Her yih eel?* "What was extraordinary in it?" (Yiin 9.2, and elsewhere, in all 9 instances)
235. *Her yiin eel?* "What cause was there for commiseration?" (Yiin 11.4, and elsewhere, in all 8 instances)
236. *Her dah eel?* "What was there to magnify?" (Juang 1.8; Cherng 5.4)
237. *Her chour eel?* "What was there to revenge?" (Juang 4.4)
238. *He shann eel?* "What was there to approve of?" (Juang 8.4, and elsewhere, in all 5 instances)
239. *Her shii eel?* "What cause was there for joy?" (Miin 2.6)
240. *Her shyan eel?* "What cause was there to consider /him/ worthy?" (Shi 17.2; Shiang 30.6)
241. *Her jenq eel?* "What was considered correct /in this event/?" (Shi 22.4)

242. *Her miin eel?* "What cause was there for sorrow?" (Wen 15.11)
243. *Her jyi eel?* "What disease was involved?" (Jau 20.3)
244. *Twu tzanq iu Chyi eel.* "There was no one to bury /her/ but /the marquis of/ Chyi." (Juang 4.5)
245. *Yi wei jiun jee wei Luu hour eel.* "The only one who is suited to be ruler is the marquis of Luu." (Juang 12.4)
246. *Hwan gong jy yu Rong Dyi, chiu jy eel.* "In comparison with the Rong and Dyi /the strength of/ duke Hwan /was such that he could/ simply drive them out." (Juang 30.7)
247. *Jiun ruoh yonq chern jy mou, tzer jin ryh cheu Guo erl ming ryh cheu Yu eel.* "If you, my lord, will employ my scheme, then we shall take Guo today and Yu tomorrow!" (Shi 2.3)
248. *Maa chu jy ney jiow, shih jy way jiow eel.* "/Your/ horses will be brought out from our own stables and /temporarily/ tied up in a stable outside our own state, that is all!" (Shi 2.3)
249. *Yu Guo jy shiang jiow, fei shiang wei tsyh, tzer Jinn jin ryh cheu Guo erl ming ryh Yu tsornng erl wang eel.* "Since Yu and Guo depend on one another for their defence, and neither is free to treat the other as a thing to be given away as a gift, then today Jinn will take Guo and tomorrow Yu will follow it and itself be destroyed." (Shi 2.3)
250. *Yeuan gwo jyh yii, tzer jong gwo herwey dwu yan Chyi Sonq jyh eel?* "Since the more distant states had already arrived, why is it said that of central states only Chyi and Sonq arrived?" (Shi 2.4)
251. *Pian jann jee ryh eel.* "Only the day is recorded for battles the time and place of which had been agreed upon beforehand." (Shi 22.4)
252. *Buh chornng jau erl biann yuh hwu tianshiah jee, wei Tayshan eel.* "The one mountain which within one single morning can send down rain over the whole world is Tayshan." (Shi 31.3)
253. *Jiun yeou chi ryh jy liang eel.* "/Our/ army has provisions for only seven days." (Shiuan 15.2)
254. *Wu jiun yih yeou chi ryh jy liang eel.* "Our army also has provisions for only seven days." (Shiuan 15.2)
255. *Wu jin cheu tsyy ranhow guei eel.* "Today I shall take this /city/ and thereafter return." (Shiuan 15.2)
256. *Wu you cheu tsyy ranhow guei eel.* "I shall yet take this /city/ and thereafter return." (Shiuan 15.2)
257. *Chern chiing guei eel.* "I beg that I be permitted to return." (Shiuan 15.2)
258. *Wu yih tsornng tzyy erl guei eel.* "I shall also follow you and return." (Shiuan 15.2)

1.2.2.2 *Guuliang eel* is found (a) in the cluster *yan eel*, in which *yan* may be interpreted as a fusion form (28:259–275); (b) in the cluster *yun eel* which marks

quotations of direct speech, and invariably occurs in conjunction with *you iue*, “/this/ is the same as saying” (2:276–277); (c) in the cluster *hwu eel* (1:278), and in the pattern *Her Verb eel?* (1:279).

259. *Ney wei jyh yan eel*. “/This indicates that/ the Interior took the initiative with regard to it (sc. the meeting).” (Yiin 1.2)
260. *Huey jee way wei juu yan eel*. “The term *huey* (‘to meet’) indicates that the Exterior /party/ acted as host at the meeting.” (Yiin 2.1; 9.7; Hwan 1.3; Shi 21.7)
261. *Wu tzwu daw yan eel*. “/This/ was not sufficiently significant to be discussed /in greater detail/. ” (Yiin 2.6; 7.1; Juang 25.4)
262. *Jyi jee ney wei jyh yan eel*. “The term *jyi* (‘and’) implies that the Interior took the initiative to the meeting.” (Yiin 4.3; Hwan 1.5; Juang 23.6; 30.6; Shiuan 4.1)
263. *Yii wei wu wang jy daw suey kee yii jyh yan eel*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ consider that this /state of affairs/ could be reached /only/ through /duke Hwan’s/ lack /of appreciation/ of the Royal Way.” (Hwan 1.1)
264. *Yii jee ney wei jyh yan eel*. “The term *yii* (‘in order to’) indicates that the Interior took the initiative in this matter.” (Hwan 2.4)
265. *Erl jiuntzyy wu yi yan eel*. “And yet the superior man has made no omissions /in his description of duke Hwan’s behaviour/. ” (Hwan 2.4)
266. *Tzyh Chern, Chern yeou fenq yan eel*. “The expression ‘from Chern’ indicates that /the marquis of/ Chern had given him orders in this regard.” (Hwan 17.5)
267. *Juh yan eel*. “There was clear evidence of this.” (Juang 7.3)
268. *Guh yan guei yan eel*. “Therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *guei* (‘to return’) in this context.” (Juang 12.1)
269. *Ru wanq yueh jyh yueh yeou jiu yan eel*. “When /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the month both for /his/ going abroad and for /his/ return, this indicates that there was /reason to/ fear /dangerous developments/. ” (Juang 23.4)
270. *Show gwo yan eel*. “/He/ had received the state from him (sc. the assassinated ruler).” (Miin 1.1)
271. *Guh cheng shyan yan eel*. “Therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ uses an expression implying arrogation /in this context/. ” (Shi 17.5)
272. *Shyng wei juu yan eel*. “/The ruler of/ Shyng acted as host on this occasion.” (Shi 20.5)
273. *Tzyh Chuu, Chuu yeou fenq yan eel*. “The expression ‘from Chuu’ indicates that /the ruler of/ Chuu had given him orders in this regard.” (Shi 28.11)
274. *Tzyh Jinn, Jinn yeou fenq yan eel*. “The expression ‘from Jinn’ indicates that /the marquis of/ Jinn had given him orders in this regard.” (Shi 28.20; Jau 13.2)

275. *Chern yeou fenq yan eel*. “/The marquis of/ Chern had given him orders in this regard.” (Dinq 11.3)
276. *You iue: cheu jy chyi muu jy hwai jong erl sha jy yun eel*. “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘/The earl of Jenq/ took a child from its mother’s arms and killed it.’” (Yiin 1.3)
277. *You iue: cheu chyi tzyy Jeou erl sha jy yun eel*. “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘We took their son Jeou and killed him’.” (Juang 9.7)
278. *Her shann hwu eel?* “What was there to approve of?” (Juang 30.7)
279. *Her uei eel?* “What danger was there?” (Dinq 12.11)

1.2.3 The sentence suffix GS 9761 *zjag/yii*

1.2.3.1 *Gongyang yii* is found (a) as a sentence suffix in a main clause preceded by a conditional clause (22:280–300); (b) in the pattern *yii verb yii*, “has already verbed” (23:301–323); (c) in the pattern *jih verb yii*, “has already verbed” (3:324–326); (d) as a sentence suffix signalling completion of an action or a new situation in an imminent future (7:327–332); (e) in emphatically preposed predicates (2:333–334); (f) in the expression *erl yii yii* (see sub 1.2.4), and (g) elsewhere, almost invariably signalling perfective aspect and/or the appearance of a new situation (68:335–392).

280. *Chiee shyy tzyy erl kee jwu, tzer shianjiun chyi jwu chern yii*. “If sons may indeed be expelled, then the late lord would have expelled me!” (Yiin 3.7)
281. *Kee, tzer in yonq shyh wanq nih yii*. “If this could be, he were subsequently and in accordance with this /office of mediation/ to go forward and meet /the bride in Jih/.” (Hwan 8.6)
282. *Jay-jonq tswen tzer tswen yii*. “If Jay-jonq remained alive, /he himself/ would remain alive.” (Hwan 15.9)
283. *Jay-jonq wang tzer wang yii*. “If Jay-jonq perished /he himself/ would perish.” (Hwan 15.9)
284. *Chyun gongtzyy jy sheh tzer yii bei yii*. “The residence of /the duke’s/ daughters was too humble /an abode for the king’s daughter/.” (Juang 1.4)
285. *Goaren jy sheng tzer bwu ruoh syy yii*. “I would rather be dead than alive!”
286. *Ruh tzer sha yii*. “If he enters he shall be killed!” (Shi 1.9)
287. *Gong Jy-chyi jyh tzer jyh yii*. “Gong Jy-chyi is clever, alright!” (Shi 2.3)
288. *Tzyy jy mou tzer yii shyng yii*. “Your scheme did indeed work!”
289. *Shyh her ru tzer kee wey jy shinn yii?* “In what manner should an officer behave in order to deserve to be regarded as trustworthy?” (Shi 10.3)

290. *Shyy syy jee faan sheng, sheng jee bwu kuey hwu chyi yan, tzer kee wey shinn yii.* "If one could make the dead return to life and the living under these circumstances need not be ashamed of their promises, then he could be regarded as trustworthy." (Shi 10.3, 2 instances).
291. *Yeou shi gong tzer yeou dong gong yii.* "If there was a western palace, there must have been an eastern palace." (Shi 20.3)
292. *Tzyy buh yeu woo gwo, wu jiang sha tzyy jiun yii.* "If you do not hand over the state to me, I shall kill your lord." (Shi 21.6)
293. *Yii wei yeou ren shin yan jee, tzer yi iu tsyy yan biann yii.* "It was considered that since human feelings were involved it would be proper to effect a change on this occasion." (Wen 2.8)
294. *Guey tzer jie guey yii.* "Both of them were of noble rank." (Wen 14.8)
295. *Chyi ju tzer yi iu tsyy yan biann yii.* "Could it perhaps be that it was proper for the vicissitude to appear on this occasion?" (Shiuan 15.9)
296. *Chiee yii Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy wei jyh, tzer wu shee tzyy yii.* "If furthermore you make Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy our hostage, then I shall let you go." (Cherng 2.4)
297. *Ruoh shyh tzer tswen Chern shi yii.* "If this be so, then /the Chuenchiou/ expresses grief /over the fate of Chern/ by representing it as still existing." (Jau 9.3; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
298. *Jiun ru yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh shyh kee yii.* "If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time as this will do!" (Dinq 4.14)
299. *Yan jann nae bay yii.* "When the term *jann* ('to battle') is used it signifies defeat." (Hwan 10.4, 2 instances)
300. *Shyr-i shyng erl sonq sheng tzuoh yii.* "The introduction of tithe tributes gave rise to songs of praise." (Shiuan 15.8)
301. *Gwo yii mieh yii.* "The state had already been extinguished." (Juang 10.7)
302. *Jiun yii jy jy yii.* "You are already aware of this, my lord." (Juang 32.3)
303. *Shyng yii wang yii.* "Shyng had already perished." (Shi 1.2)
304. *Wu yii der tzyy jy tzeir yii.* "We have already got the assassin for you!" (Shi 1.9)
305. *Wu maa jy chyy yih yii charng yii.* "My horses have already grown a bit long in the teeth!" (Shi 2.3)
306. *Chuu yii fwu yii.* "Chuu had already submitted." (Shi 4.7)
307. *Yu yii mieh yii.* "Yu had already been extinguished." (Shi 5.9)
308. *Wu gwo yii yeou jiun yii.* "Our state already has a /new/ ruler." (Shi 21.6)
309. *Tsyy yii cheu Guu yii.* "On this occasion Guu had already been taken." (Shi 26.9)
310. *Tzuey yii dinq yii.* "The guilt had already been established." (Shi 28.19)
311. *Tzuey dinq bwu dinq yii kee jy yii.* "Whether /his/ guilt was established or not could already be known." (Shi 28.19)
312. *Chyi yii cheu jy yii.* "Chyi had already taken it." (Shiuan 10.3)

313. *Chyi yii yan cheu jy yii*. "Chyi had already made a statement to the effect that they had taken it." (Shiuan 10.3)
314. *Chuu yii tao jy yii*. "Chuu had already punished him." (Shiuan 12.1)
315. *Chern yii gaw jy yii*. "I have already told him." (Shiuan 15.2)
316. *Wu jiun yii mean yii*. "My ruler has already escaped." (Cherng 2.4)
317. *Chuu yii cheu jy yii*. "Chuu had already taken it." (Shiang 1.2)
318. *Juhour yii cheu jy yii*. "The feudal lords had already taken it." (Shiang 10.9)
319. *Jin Jau jy tzuey yii jonq yii*. "On this occasion Jau's guilt was already heavy." (Jau 1.2)
320. *Chern yii mieh yii*. "Chern had already been extinguished." (Jau 9.3)
321. *Bih yii lih yii*. "Bih had already been established as ruler." (Jau 13.2)
322. *Bih yii lih yii*. "Bih had already been established as ruler." (Jau 13.3)
323. *Gay yii tsao jy wei yii tzuh yii*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ obviously considers that /the marquis of Chyi/ pressed them in a too harrassing manner." (Juang 30.7; my translation is tentative.)
324. *Dong jih shiann wu may her yii*. "Since it was winter the want of wheat and rice would long have been apparent." (Juang 28.6)
325. *Jiun jih fwu nan Yi yii*. "You have already subdued the southern Yi, my lord." (Shi 4.5)
326. *Eel jih sha fwu ell rutzyy yii*. "You have already killed those two young princes." (Shi 10.5)
327. *Her jong wei jiun yii?* "Why should you not eventually become ruler? (Yiin 3.7; 4.5)
328. *Tzyy guei shoou gwo yii*. "You return and guard the state!" (Shi 21.6)
329. *Her shyh jy yii?* "Why not assassinate him and have done with it?" (Miin 1.1)
330. *Tzyy jy cherng yii!* "Get up in your chariot!" (Shiuan 6.1; it is interesting to note the use of the subordinating particle *jy* in this sentence.)
331. *Mean jy yii!* "Continue your efforts!" (Shiuan 15.2)
332. *Tzoou yii!* "Be gone!" (Ai 6.8)
333. *Shenn yii, Luu hour jy shu, Luu hour jy meei yee!* "Extreme indeed is the goodness and the virtue of the marquis of Luu!" (Juang 12.4)
334. *Shenn yii bey!* "Oh, what extreme plight!" (Shiuan 15.2, 2 instances)
335. *Yeu gong meng jee jonq yii*. "Those who had made covenants with the duke were already many." (Yiin 1.2)
336. *Chyan tsyy yii*. "/There were occasions/ prior to this." (Yiin 2.3; 2.5; 5.5)
337. *Shianjiun jy buh eel jwu kee jy yii*. "It is indeed obvious that the late lord did not intend to expel you." (Yiin 3.7)

338. *Wu wey tzyy koou Yiin yii.* "I have had an argument with Yiin for your sake." (Yiin 4.5)
339. *Wu cherng bay yii.* "Our /efforts to achieve/ peace have already failed." (Yiin 6.1)
340. *Shyh jiun duo yii.* "Many instances of assassinations have already /been recorded/." (Hwan 2.2; Juang 12.4; Shi 10.3)
341. *Koong-fuu kee wey yih shyng iu seh yii.* "Of Koong-fuu it may be said that his righteousness was manifested in his outward appearance." (Hwan 2.2, 2 instances)
342. *Yiin yih yeuan yii.* "Duke/ Yiin also belonged to the /most/ distant /period of the Chuenchiou/." (Hwan 2.4)
343. *Er erl kee yii wei chyi yeou yii.* "Ownership of land/ can be established in a single instant /by the mere act of taking the land in possession/." (Hwan 2.5)
344. *Tsyy ruh gwo yii.* "On this occasion /she/ had already entered the state /of her husband/." (Hwan 3.6)
345. *Der jiann hwu gong yii.* "Lady Jiang/ had already been seen by the duke." (Hwan 3.8)
346. *Chyi tsyr cherng yii.* "Her designation /as queen/ had already been established." (Hwan 8.6; 9.1)
347. *Lang yih jinn yii.* "The city of/ Lang was also close enough /to the capital/." (Hwan 13.1)
348. *Jay-jonq wang yii.* "Jay-jonq was already dead." (Hwan 15.9)
349. *Furen guh tzay Chyi yii.* "The spouse /of the duke/ was definitely already in Chyi." (Juang 1.2)
350. *Yii Shiang gong jy wei iu tsyy yan jee, shyh tzuunii jy shin jinn yii.* "Through duke Shiang's action on this occasion his ambition to serve his ancestors had been fulfilled." (Juang 4.4)
351. *Jeou shyh yii.* "Nine generations had already passed." (Juang 4.4)
352. *Chyi gwo wang yii.* "Her state had already perished." (Juang 4.5; 12.1; 30.4)
353. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii.* "Both before and after this occasion there were matters /involving contacts between the duke and the marquis of Chyi/." (Juang 4.7; Shi 4.4)
354. *Shy binq yii.* "The army was exhausted." (Juang 8.4)
355. *Chyou-muh kee wey bwu wey chyang yuh yii.* "Of Chyou-muh it may be said that 'he did not fear the strong and the refractory'." (Juang 12.4, 2 instances)
356. *Ninqren lai yii! Ninqren lai yii!* "An artful man has come! An artful man has come!" (Juang 17.3)
357. *San nian yii.* "The three years' /of mourning/ had already passed." (Miin 2.2)

358. *Tzay san nian jy jong yii*. "It was within the period of three years' /mourning/." (Miin 2.2)
359. *Wu buh der ruh yii!* "I shall no longer be allowed to enter!" (Shi 1.9)
360. *Yeuan gwo jyh yii, tzer jong gwo herwey dwu yan Chyi Sonq jyh eel*. "Since the more distant states had already arrived, why is it said that of the central states only Chyi and Sonq arrived?" (Shi 2.4)
361. *Sheu jiah yii*. "/She/ had already been promised in marriage." (Shi 9.3; Wen 12.3)
362. *Shyun-shyi kee wey buh shyr chyi yan yii*. "Of Shyun-shyi it may be said that he did not go back on his words." (Shi 10.3, 2 instances)
363. *Jiun charng shiunn chern yii*. "The /late/ lord once asked me /about this/." (Shi 10.3)
364. *Tzae shanq jy muh goong yii*. "It would take two hands to grasp round the trees on your grave!" (Shi 33.3)
365. *Huoh iue wanq yii, huoh iue faan yii*. "Some said: 'Let us go forward!'. Others said: 'Let us return!'" (Shi 33.3)
366. *San nian jy en jyi yii*. "The affection displayed during the three years' /of mourning/ is painful enough!" (Wen 2.8)
367. *Yuh nian yii*. "A year had already passed /since the death of the late lord/." (Wen 9.1)
368. *Jyi wey yii erl wey cheng wang yee*. "/He/ had already succeeded to the throne, but was not yet designated as king." (Wen 9.1)
369. *Yuh nian cheng gong yii*. "When one year has passed /since the death of a feudal lord, his successor/ is designated as duke." (Wen 9.1)
370. *Her chiu shu yii*. "The bends in the River are indeed wide apart." (Wen 12.7)
371. *Wu yih buh kee fuh jiann wu jiun yii*. "I also cannot face my lord again." (Shiuan 6.1)
372. *Wang shy yean binq yii*. "The king's army has been fatigued for a long time." (Shiuan 12.3)
373. *Jinn jonq jy tzoou jee jou jong jy jyy kee jiu yii*. "The fingers of the fleeing Jinn troops could be scooped out from the boats by the handful." (Shiuan 12.3)
374. *Bey yii!* "What plight! (Shiuan 15.2, 2 instances)
375. *Chyi yu jie tong yii*. "All other /designations of the king/ have been connected with /the designation wang/." (Cherng 8.7; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
376. *Shee shyh wu nann yii*. "Apart from this there were no difficulties." (Cherng 16.10)
377. *Tzay Jau-chiou shi yii*. "That /he/ was kept at Jau-chiou was a cause for grief." (Cherng 16.11; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
378. *Yeou yow yii*. "There were already parks." (Cherng 18.11)

379. *Tzyy guh wey woo yeu jy iue yii*. "You decidedly must confirm this agreement with him for my sake!" (Shiang 27.4)
380. *Eh ren jy twu tzay shyh yii*. "A follower of an evil man is here!" (Shiang 27.5)
381. *Huoo jyh yii!* "The fire has already reached this place!" (Shiang 30.6)
382. *Fuh jyh yii!* "The governess is already here!" (Shiang 30.6)
383. *Eel tsair fuh yii*. "Your wealth has already been restored." (Shiang 30.9)
384. *Woo nae jy jy yii*. "I was already aware of that." (Jau 12.1)
385. *Jiann iu gong shyh jeou yii*. "/The head of the Jih clan/ has for a long time usurped /the prerogatives/ of a ducal minister." (Jau 25.7)
386. *Dahfu jiann iu juhaur jeou yii*. "The great officers have for a long time usurped /the prerogatives of/ the feudal lords." (Jau 25.7)
387. *Jih shyh der min jonq jeou yii*. "The Jih clan has already for a long time won /the affection of/ the masses." (Jau 25.7)
388. *Chinq tzyy mean jiun iu dah nann yii*. "I congratulate you on having rescued your lord from a great difficulty." (Jau 25.7)
389. *Chyi lli yeu chyi tsyr tzuw guan yii*. "Their rites and their speeches were indeed worth observing!" (Jau 25.7)
390. *Wu yii wu tzyy yih gong yii!* "I exchanged my son for the duke!" (Jau 31.6)
391. *Wu daw chyong yii!* "My way has come to an end!" (Ai 14.1)
392. *Bey yii!* "All is completed!" (Ai 14.1)

1.2.3.2 *Guuliang yii* is found (a) as a sentence suffix in a main clause preceded by a conditional clause (25:393–417); (b) in the pattern *yii verb yii*, "has already verbed", (6:418–423); (c) in the pattern *jih verb yii*, "has already verbed", (3:424–426); (d) as a sentence suffix signalling completion of an action or a new situation in an imminent future (4:427–430); (e) in emphatically preposed predicates (2:431–432); (f) in the expression *erl yii yii* (see sub 1.2.4), and (g) elsewhere, almost invariably signalling perfective aspect and/or the appearance of a new situation (70:433–494).

393. *Yiin jiang ranq erl Hwan shyh jy, tzer Hwan eh yii*. "Since Yiin intended to resign /in favour of Hwan/ and Hwan assassinated him, it is obvious that Hwan was evil." (Yiin 1.1)
394. *Hwan shyh erl Yiin ranq, tzer Yiin shann yii*. "Since Hwan assassinated /Yiin/ and Yiin /intended to/ resign /in favour of Hwan/ it is obvious that Yiin was good." (Yiin 1.1)
395. *Goouyan yii ruh ren wei jyh jee, ren yih ruh jy yii*. "The one who recklessly sets his mind on entering the territory of others will in turn have his own territory invaded." (Yiin 2.3)
396. *Wu tyan tzer wu Sheu kee jy yii*. "Evidently, without these fields there could be no /city/ of Sheu." (Hwan 1.4)

397. *Wang minq jy tzer cherng yii.* "Once the king has given his command /with regard to the marriage, the title of queen/ has already been established." (Hwan 8.6)
398. *Yeou tsyy san jee bey, ranhow kee yii huey yii.* "Only when he has /secured the services of/ these three assistants/ may the ruler go abroad to participate in meetings." (Hwan 18.5)
399. *Jiow jee shann, tzer fa jee bwu jenq yii.* "When the one who went to the rescue is approved of /by the *Chuenchiou*/, then the attacking party is represented as in the wrong." (Juang 6.2)
400. *Shuoh ruh nih tzer chu shuenn yii.* "If Shuoh's entry was opposed /by the people of Wei/, then /his previous/ exit must have been in accordance /with the people's wishes." (Juang 6.2)
401. *Eh jann tzer shay yii.* "In the case of this/ evil war /the blame/ was diminished." (Juang 6.5)
402. *Shy biann erl luh chyi shy, tzer yeh jong yii.* "When this portent occurred and the time was recorded it was found to be midnight." (Juang 7.3)
403. *Min chyn iu syh, tzer bae shyh fey yii.* "When the people lacked food, all the various enterprises were suspended." (Juang 29.1)
404. *Mieh Shiah-yang erl Yu Guo jeu yii.* "Once Shiah-yang had been extinguished, both Yu and Guo could be easily taken." (Shi 2.3)
405. *Bor Ji wei jyh hwu chaur chyi tzyy, tzer shyh Chii bor shy fu jy daw yii.* "Since the eldest daughter /of Luu, who was married to the earl of Chii/ had set her mind on introducing her son at /our/ court, it is obvious that the earl of Chii had deviated from the correct path of a husband." (Shi 5.2)
406. *Shyhtzyy show juhaur jy tzuen jii erl tianwang tzuen yii.* "When the heir-son receives the homage of the feudal lords the King by Heaven's Grace will be honoured." (Shi 5.5)
407. *Jin ryh wang Guo erl ming ryh wang Yu yii.* "The situation was such that/ if he were to make Guo perish today, he could make Yu perish tomorrow." (Shi 5.9)
408. *Ruoh fa erl buh neng jiow, tzer wu yii tzong juhaur yii.* "If /Chuu/ should attack and /you/ were unable to go to the rescue /of the attacked party/, you would no longer be able to make the feudal lords honour you." (Shi 12.2)
409. *Guh wuu shy liow yi jy tsyr bwu sheh, tzer wang daw buh kang yii.* "Therefore, if no statement had been made concerning the five stones and the six yi-birds, then the principle concerning Royal government could not have been held high." (Shi 16.1)
410. *Bii buh syy tzer woo syy yii.* "If those /sons of ours/ do not die, we will be dead /when they return/." (Shi 33.3)
411. *Jih erl tsyr yan, sy liou yii.* "When he subsequently performs a sacrifice there, /the River/ will flow." (Cherng 5.4)

412. *Shann tzer cheng jiun, guoh tzer cheng jii, tzer min tzuoh rang yii.* "When excellent /results are achieved, the great officers/ attribute them to their lord; when transgressions occur /they/ attribute them to themselves. /Since this is so/ the people /learn to/ act out the principle of yielding." (Shiang 19.8)
413. *Shanq shiah buh shiang der tzer eh yii.* "An evil situation arises when the interests of high and low are incompatible." (Jau 29.6)
414. *Shyh yueh bwu yuh tzer wu jyi yii.* "If this month should be without rain, then it will be too late." (Dinq 1.6)
415. *Shyh nian bwu ay tzer wu syh yii.* "If in this year there be no reaping, there would no longer be /a sufficiency of/ food." (Dinq 1.6)
416. *Jiun ruoh yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh tsyy shyr kee yii.* "If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time as this will do." (Dinq 4.14)
417. *Ru buh tsornq tzer buh jiau yii.* "If the reply is unfavorable the Jiau sacrifice is dispensed with." (Ai 1.4)
418. *Yii chyi yonq min lih wei yii shi yii.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that /the duke/ had already exhausted the strength of the people." (Juang 29.1)
419. *Wu jiun yii lao yii, yii huen yii.* "My lord is already old and in the dusk /of life/." (Shi 10.5, 2 instances)
420. *Tzyy jy joong muh yii goong yii.* "It would take two hands to grasp round the trees on your graves!" (Shi 33.3)
421. *Yii gong jy yeu min wei yii shi yii.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that the land which the duke had granted the people /for their own use/ had /thereby/ been reduced to nil." (Shiuan 15.8; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 189, note 15.8e.)
422. *Yii niou yii.* "The sacrificial victim/ already held its status as bull." (Ai 1.4)
423. *Yii show minq yii.* "He/ had already been invested." (Ai 6.8)
424. *Jih shenq chyi shyeh shin yii yeu Yiin yii.* "Having overcome this perversity of mind /he/ gave the title to Yiin." (Yiin 1.1)
425. *Jih mieh ren jy gwo yii.* "He/ had already extinguished the state of another man." (Shi 17.2)
426. *Jih wey jiun yan jy yii.* "I/ have already spoken a word on your behalf, my lord." (Jau 31.4)
427. *Jin ruu tzuoh Duenn yii.* "Now you shall assist Duenn." (Wen 6.7)
428. *Chyi jy huann bih tzyh tsyy shyy yii.* "Chyi is bound to get into trouble on this account." (Cherng 1.7)
429. *Fuhlao faan yii!* "Return, you elders!" (Dinq 4.16)

430. *Goaren chiee yonq tsyy ruh hae yii.* "I shall take /the consequences of/ this /defeat/ and go to the sea coast /to live there in exile/." (Jau 26.7)
431. *Yeuan yii fei yee.* "Far-reaching indeed is the condemnation /of the *Chuenchiou*/." (Jau 26.7; my translation is tentative.)
432. *Jeou yii Jou jy buh shyng lii iu Luu yii.* "For a long time /the house of/ Jou had refused to deal with Luu in accordance with the ritual prescriptions." (Dinq 14.8)
433. *Duann shy tzyy dih jy daw yii.* "Duann had deviated from the correct path to be followed by a son and a younger brother." (Yiin 1.3)
434. *Shyy jiann yueh yii.* "For the first time the /ritual/ music was usurped /by a feudal lord/." (Yiin 5.5)
435. *Shyy lih yueh yii.* "For the first time the music was reduced." (Yiin 5.5; my translation is tentative; cf *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 90, note 5.5b.)
436. *Tsyy cherng yii.* "This was a case of accomplishing /a settlement of the confusion/." (Hwan 2.4)
437. *Wei tiantzyy binq yii.* "This/ was a source of embarrassment for the Son of Heaven." (Hwan 5.6)
438. *Charng yii juh hour yeu jy jie yii.* "The state of Luu/ had previously had contacts with them in their capacity of feudal lords." (Hwan 7.2)
439. *Tsaur bor shy jenq yii.* "The earl of Tsaur had deviated from the correct principles." (Hwan 9.4)
440. *Yii ney wei shy jenq yii.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that the Interior had deviated from the correct principles." (Hwan 9.4)
441. *Shyhtzyy kee yii yii yii.* "It would have been permissible for the heir-son to reject /the order which had been given him by his father/." (Hwan 9.4)
442. *Yiin Hwan jy ryh yeuan yii.* "The times of /duke/ Yiin and /duke/ Hwan are indeed distant." (Hwan 14.3)
443. *Chyou jin shenn yii.* "To ask for gold was even more improper." (Hwan 15.1; Wen 9.1)
444. *Iu tzwu shyh hwu jia jy yii.* "It was added at the final event (sc. the burial)." (Hwan 18.5; Miin 1.3; Wen 1.4)
445. *Wey jy juh jye yii.* "To build /a new reception house/ for her was definitely in accordance with the regulations." (Juang 1.4)
446. *Bwu jenq shenn yii.* "This was definitely extremely improper." (Juang 1.6)
447. *Gongtzyy guey yii, shy jonq yii.* "A duke's son is definitely noble; an army is definitely weighty." (Juang 2.2)
448. *Gongtzyy binq yii.* "This/ was definitely embarrassing for the duke's son." (Juang 2.2; Shiang 8.3)
449. *Sheang shenn yii.* "To feast /the marquis of Chyi/ was definitely extremely incorrect." (Juang 2.4; 4.1)

450. *Chyr bing erl Chern Tsay bwu jyh yii*. "The marshalling of troops had been performed, but /the troops of/ Chern and Tsay had not arrived." (Juang 8.2)
451. *Jyh tzay gong yii*. "The decision had been lodged with the duke." (Juang 9.2)
452. *Yii gong wei binq yii*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers this an embarrassment for the duke." (Juang 9.7)
453. *Yonq sheng kee yii yii yii*. "The use of sacrificial victims could definitely have been dispensed with." (Juang 25.5)
454. *Shan Rong wey jy fa yii*. "This was due to the fact that the Shan Rong had attacked them." (Juang 30.7; for this tentative translation see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 157, note 30.7c.)
455. *Chinq-fuu bwu fuh shiann yii*. "Chinq-fuu does not reappear /in the *Chuenchiou*/." (Miin 2.5)
456. *Bih tzer you shyh yee erl maa chyy jia charng yii*. "The jade *bih* is still the same, but the teeth of the horses have grown longer." (Shi 2.3)
457. *Yii Hwan gong der jyh wei jiin yii*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that duke Hwan barely had managed to carry through his will." (Shi 4.4)
458. *Jinn minq shyng hwu Yu min yii*. "The command of /the ruler of/ Jinn was executed by the people of Yu." (Shi 5.9)
459. *Yii Sonq tzyy wei wu ai yii*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that the son of /the deceased ruler of/ Sonq no longer felt any sorrow." (Shi 9.2)
460. *Yii Chorng-eel wei jih yii, woen dow erl syy*. "Having committed Chorng-eel /to him, the heir-son/ cut his throat and died." (Shi 10.5)
461. *Hwan der shuai yii*. "The virtue of /duke/ Hwan had declined." (Shi 14.1)
462. *Jinn hour shy min yii*. "The marquis of Jinn had lost the affection of his people." (Shi 15.14)
463. *Chyi bwu jenq chyan shiann yii*. "It had already appeared that he was not the correct heir." (Shi 17.5)
464. *Gong jinn erl der yeuan yii*. "While the meritorious deeds /of duke Hwan of Chyi mainly affected the states which/ were close /to Chyi, his/ virtue had spread afar." (Shi 18.6)
465. *Yii wei Jinn Wen gong jy shyng shyh wei yii dian yii*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that duke Wen of Jinn acted in such a way that he overturned /the relations between ruler and subject/." (Shi 28.18)
466. *Woo lao yii*. "We are already old." (Shi 33.3)
467. *Mau tsyr jinn yii*. "/Even/ the rushes and the straw were exhausted." (Wen 3.5)
468. *Ryh jy shenn yii*. "To give the day /of the burial of the king/ indicates an even graver situation." (Wen 9.4)
469. *Shyng-fuu shy minq yii*. "Shyng-fuu had definitely disobeyed his orders." (Wen 16.1)

470. *Yii gong wei yann jenq yii shenn yii.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that the duke went too far in his contempt for his government duties.” (Wen 16.2)
471. *Yii Wen wei duo shy daw yii.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that /duke/ Wen on a number of occasions had deviated from the correct way.” (Wen 16.5)
472. *Hwa Yuan suei huoh bwu binq yii.* “Even though Hwa Yuan was captured no embarrassment is indicated.” (Shiuan 2.1)
473. *Cheu Shianq shenn yii.* “To take Shiang was too extreme an act.” (Shiuan 4.2)
474. *Woo tzwu yii.* “I have already had enough.” (Shiuan 17.8)
475. *Jong wu bing yii.* “Throughout /the season/ there was no ice.” (Cherng 1.3)
476. *Yii Cherng gong wei wu ji yii.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that no criticism attached to duke Cherng.” (Cherng 3.4)
477. *Suoo yii bian woo jee, chyi cheu daw yeuan yii.* “In the time you spend on whipping me you could have travelled a fair distance.” (Cherng 5.4; Cf Malmqvist 1971, p. 195, note 5.4c.)
478. *Jaan daw jinn yii.* “/Only thus/ will the examination /of the horns of the sacrificial victims/ have been completely carried out.” (Cherng 7.1; Ai 1.4)
479. *Wang hwu ren yii.* “/This/ was not /brought about/ through /any act of/ man.” (Cherng 7.2; my translation is tentative.)
480. *Jin shanq shiah jie shy jy yii.* “On this occasion both high and low had erred.” (Cherng 12.1)
481. *Gay buh kee yii.* “/This/ was actually not permissible.” (Cherng 17.6; Ai 1.4)
482. *Tzyh huoh iu shyh shyy yii.* “The self-inflicted calamity /of Jinn/ arose from this /event/.” (Cherng 17.13)
483. *Jiun eh shenn yii.* “The evil of the lord was indeed extreme.” (Cherng 18.2)
484. *Guh Ji-tzer jy huey juhaur shyy shy jenq yii.* “It was therefore at the meeting at Ji-tzer that the feudal lords first began to deviate from the correct way.” (Shiang 3.7)
485. *Juhaur shy jenq yii.* “The feudal lords had deviated from the correct way.” (Shiang 16.2)
486. *Yih binq yii.* “/This/ also constituted an embarrassment.” (Shiang 18.4)
487. *Yeu jy sheh gong shyh yii.* “/The duke/ had together with him engaged in public affairs.” (Shiang 27.3)
488. *Bor Ji jy fuh daw jinn yii.* “The women’s code of behaviour was adhered to until the end by the eldest daughter /of Luu/.” (Shiang 30.3)
489. *Wu jinn yii.* “Wu had advanced.” (Dinq 4.14; Ai 13.3)
490. *Koong tzyy iu Jya-guu jy huey shiann jy yii.* “This was made clear by Master Koong at the meeting at Jya-guu.” (Dinq 10.3)
491. *Gay buh kee yii.* “This is actually impermissible.” (Ai 1.4)

492. *Charng jyh jy Shanqdihi yii*. “/The animal/ had already been placed at the disposal of Shanqdihi.” (Ai 1.4)
 493. *Sonq binq yii*. “This was a cause for embarrassment for Sonq.” (Ai 13.1)
 494. *Suey tzyy yii*. “Thereafter /the lord of Wu/ was referred to as viscount.” (Ai 1313)

1.2.4 The sentence final cluster GS 982a *niag/erl* + GS 977a *ziag/yii*

1.2.4.1 Gongyang *erl yii* is found (a) in the sentence final expression *erl yii yii* (5:495–499), and (b) elsewhere (4:500–503).

495. *Ru wuh yeu erl yii yii*. “It would have been better if he had not been given /the city of Jing/.” (Yiin 1.3)
 496. *Buh ru wuh charng erl yii yii*. “It would have been better to dispense with the Autumnal sacrifice and leave it at that.” (Hwan 14.5)
 497. *Tserng buh shyng shy, twu yii yan erl yii yii*. “/Supposing that Chyi would have wished to take Luu/, they could have done so with a mere statement /to that effect/, without having raised an army.” (Miin 2.6)
 498. *Buh ru wuh jiu erl yii yii*. “It would have been better had he simply refrained from occupying it.” (Wen 16.5)
 499. *Shyh leh erl yii yii*. “This was simply meant as a joke.” (Shiuan 6.1)
 500. *Iu chour jee jiang yih ji erl yii*. “In the case of feuds criticism is expressed only once.” (Juang 4.7)
 501. *Iu chour jee tzer herwey jiang yih ji erl yii?* “Why is criticism expressed only once in the case of feuds?” (Juang 4.7)
 502. *Guh jiang yih ji erl yii*. “Therefore criticism is expressed only once.” (Juang 4.7)
 503. *Fwu rutzyy der gwo erl yii*. “That youngster has gained control over the state, that is all.” (Dinq 8.16)

1.2.4.2 Guuliang *erl yii* is found (a) in the sentence final expression *erl yii yii* (2:504–505), and (b) elsewhere (1:506).

504. *Jenq ming erl yii yii*. “/I/ have simply applied a correct terminology, that is all.” (Shi 19.7)
 505. *Buh ru wuh chuu erl yii yii*. “It would have been better had he simply refrained from occupying it.” (Wen 16.5)
 506. *Jiuntzyy jy iu wuh, wu suoo goou erl yii*. “Such is the superior man’s relation to objects that he never makes haphazard judgments.” (Shi 16.1)

1.2.5 The sentence final GS 977a *ziag/yii* is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:507). This final does not occur in the *Guuliang*.

507. *Tsyy jiun yee yii*. "This is the one and only ruler!" (Ai 6.8)

1.2.6 The sentence final GS 981a *riag/eel*, which represents a fusion of *erl yii* (see sub 1.2.4) is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:508), and once in the *Guuliang* (1:509)

508. *Wang ren eel*. "He was only the king's man." (*Gongyang*, Juang 6.1)

509. *Tiantzyy juhoo suoo chin jee wei jaangtzyy muudih eel*. "The only ones whom the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords treat with intimate affection are their eldest sons and their younger brothers by the same mother." (*Guuliang*, Shiang 30.4)

1.2.7 The sentence suffix GS 943v *tsag/tzai*

1.2.7.1 The sentence suffix *tzai* is found four times in the *Gongyang* (4:510–512).

510. *Wu her jiann yii tzai?* "Indeed! What /rites/ have I usurped?" (Jau 25.7)

511. *Bii tzai! Bii tzai!* "Oh, that one! Oh, that one!" (Dinq 8.16)

512. *Shwu wey lai tzai?* "For whose sake has it come?" (Ai 14.1)

1.2.7.2 The sentence suffix *tzai* is found five times in the *Guuliang* (5:513–517)

513. *Chii yeu shuo tzai!* "How could it here be a case of rain!" (Juang 7.3; my translation of this passage is tentative.)

514. *Chii iue yii baw chyi chyy tzai!* "How could it possibly be said that one did so in order to revenge a disgrace!" (Shi 22.4)

515. *Chyi min shwu yii wei jiun tzai!* "Whom would his people /then/ consider as /their/ ruler?" (Shi 23.2)

516. *Ian chiing tzai?* "Whom did one entreat?" (Dinq 1.6)

517. *Wu tzyy jinn hwu tzai?* "Had not the viscount of Wu indeed advanced?" (Ai 13.3)

1.2.8 The sentence final GS 101a *b'iwō (b'iwag)/fwu* occurs once in the *Gongyang*. This sentence final does not occur in the *Guuliang*.

518. *Tsyy cherng eel gwo yee fwu!* "This is indeed your state!" (Jau 31.6)

2.0 Nominal predications

2.1 Copulative nominal predications

2.1.1 The copula GS 575i *dīwər/wei*, “to be only”

2.1.1.1 There are four occurrences of the copula *wei* in the *Gongyang* (4:519–522).

519. *Tianshiah juhōur yi wei jiun jee wei Luu hōur eel*. “Of /all/ the feudal lords in the realm it is only the marquis of Luu who is suited to be ruler!” (Juang 12.4)
520. *Buh chorng jau erl biann yuh hwu tianshiah jee wei Tayshan eel*. “The one mountain which within one single morning can send down rain over the whole realm is Tayshan.” (Shi 31.3)
521. *Iu jih jee, wei jiuh shyh shyh*. “As regards /sacrifices to/ the Spirit of the Millet, foremost consideration is given to their completeness.” (Shiuan 3.3)
522. *Chiing wei jiun jy minq*. “I beg leave to do only what you command me, Sir!” (Shiuan 12.3)

2.1.1.2 *Guuliang wei* is found (a) as a copula (5:523–527); (b) as a loan for GS 575v *sīwər/suei*, “although”, (1:528).

523. *Wei chyi suoo shian der*. “It was only the first catch /that was used/.” (Hwan 4.1)
524. *Wang shyhtzyy yun jee, wei wang jy ell yee*. “The term ‘the heir-son of the king’ indicates that he alone is the peer of the king.” (Shi 5.4)
525. *Wei ben Jeu jy wei shinn*. “The only thing that really happened was that he fled to Jeu.” (Wen 8.6)
526. *Tiantzyy juhōur suoo chin jee wei jaangtzyy muudih eel*. “The only ones which the Son of Heaven and the feudal lords treat with intimate affection are their eldest sons and their brothers by the same mother.” (Shiang 30.4)
527. *Shyhtzyy yun jee wei jiun jy ell yee*. “The term ‘heir-son’ indicates that he alone is the peer of the lord.” (Jau 8.1)
528. *Yii wei wei wey yih tzai jy yu erl charng kee yee*. “/The duke of Luu/ considered that it was permissible to perform the Autumnal sacrifice even though the grain left over from the fire had not yet been replaced.” (Hwan 14.5)

2.1.2 The copula GS 575n *dīwər/wei*, “to be only”

2.1.2.1 There are two occurrences of this copula in the *Gongyang* (2:529–530).

529. *Wei jiann jiann shann jinq yan*. “It is only the insincere ones, who are good at smooth speeches” (Wen 12.6; for this rendering see Karlgren, “Glosses on the Book of Documents”, gl. 2109.)

530. *Wei yi jieh duann duann yan wu tuo jih, chyi shin shiou shiou neng yeou rong, shyh nan yee.* “It is hard to find one single resolute man who has but one accomplishment, namely a fine and good heart, capable of generosity.” (Wen 12.6; see Karlgren, “Glosses on the book of Documents”, gl. 2113; my translation is tentative.)

2.1.2.2 There is one occurrence of this copula in the *Guuliang* (1:531).

531. *Tiantzyy jy tzay jee wei jih yeu haw.* “All that remained /of the prerogatives/ of the Son of Heaven were /his right to decide over/ sacrifices and his title.” (Jau 32.5)

2.1.3 The copula GS 575o *dīwər/wei*, “to be only”, is found once in the *Gongyang*. This copula does not occur in the *Guuliang*.

532. *Chiee fwu niou maa wei liuh woei jii jee erl rou yan.* “And furthermore, oxen and horses are gentle only towards the one who regularly feeds them.” (Jau 25.7; the translation of this passage in *Malmqvist 1971*, which is based on Her Shiou’s commentary, is mistaken. The revised version presented here is based on Wang Yiin-jy’s interpretation in the *Jing yih shuh wen*.)

2.1.4 The copula GS 1096r *zîôg/you*, “to be about the same as”

2.1.4.1 *Gongyang* you is found (a) in the expression *you iue*, “/This/ tantamounts to saying” (5:533–537); (b) as a copula signalling an assumed semantic identity of two phonetically similar entities (5:538–542); (c) as a copula of identification (8:543–550).

533. *You iue: shyh ren lai yee.* “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘This man has come!’” (Hwan 6.1)
534. *You iue: jenn jenn ran.* “/This is the same as saying: ‘/He/ acted in an overawing manner.’” (Shi 9.4)
535. *You iue: moh ruoh woo yee.* “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘There is no one who equals me!’” (Shi 9.4)
536. *You iue: wu chiuhy shyh yun eel.* “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘Do not leave this /place/!’” (Shiuan 1.5)
537. *You iue: show jy yun eel.* “/This/ is the same as saying: ‘We have received this (sc. the warning sent by Heaven).’” (Shiuan 15.9)
538. *Huey* (Arch. *g’wâd*) *you tzuey* (Arch. *tswâd*) *yee.* “*Huey* (‘to meet’) is the same as *tzuey* (‘to gather together’).” (Yiin 1.2)
539. *Jyi* (Arch. *g’jâp*) *you jyi jyi* (Arch. *kjâp*) *yee.* “*Jyi* (‘together’) is the same as *jyi jyi* (‘urgently’).” (Yiin 1.2)

540. *Jih you jih jih yee*. “*Jih* is the same as *jih jih*.” (Yiin 1.2)
541. *Suen you suenn yee*. “*Suen* (‘grandson’) is the same as *suenn* (‘to withdraw’).” (Juang 1.2)
542. *Shyh shyh you shyh shyh yee*. “The ancestral temple of the /first/ duke of Luu is the same as an ancestral temple to be honoured by successive generations.” (Wen 13.5)
543. *Kao you ruh shyh yee*. “*Kao* means ‘to move into a /new/ building’.” (Yiin 5.4)
544. *Shu pyng you huei cherng yee*. “*Shu pyng* means ‘to wreck the accomplishments’.” (Yiin 6.1)
545. *Shianjiun jy chyy you jinjiun jy chyy yee*. “The disgrace of a former ruler is also the disgrace of the present ruler.” (Juang 4.4)
546. *Jinjiun jy chyy you shianjiun jy chyy yee*. “The disgrace of the present ruler is also the disgrace of the former ruler.” (Juang 4.4)
547. *Jyh jin yeou Jih jee you wu ming tiantzyy yee*. “That the state of *Jih* was allowed to exist until this time tantamounts to there being no enlightened Son of Heaven.” (Juang 414; in *Malmqvist* 1971 I followed Chern Lih, who takes *you* as a loan for GS 1079a *djôg/you*, ‘to proceed from’.)
548. *Fa erl yan nah jee you buh neng nah yee*. “To use the term *nah* (‘to introduce’) in conjunction with the term *fa* (‘to attack’) is the same /as saying/ that /the duke/ was unable to introduce /Jeou/.” (Juang 9.3)
549. *Chyi jiun jy muu you Jinn jiun jy muu yee*. “The mother of the marquis of Chyi is /as noble as/ the mother of the marquis of Jinn.” (Cherng 2.4)
550. *Shyh jiun you shyh fuh yee*. “Serving one’s prince is like serving one’s father.” (Dinq 4.14)

2.1.4.2 *Guuliang you* is found (a) in the expression *you iue*, “/This/ tantamounts to saying” (4:551–554); (b) as a copula signalling an assumed semantic identity of two phonetically similar entities (5:555–559); (c) in etymological speculations of the pattern *x jy wei yan you y yee*, “the expression *x* is semantically equivalent to *y*” (7:560–564); in one instance the form *you* itself is made the subject of etymologizing (1:565); (d) as a copula of identification (4:566–569).

551. *You iue cheu jy chyi muu jy hwai jong erl sha jy yun eel*. “/It/ is the same as to say: ‘/The earl of Jenq/ took it (sc. the child) from its mother’s arms and killed it’.” (Yiin 1.3)
552. *You iue cheu chyi tzyy Jeou erl sha jy yun eel*. “/It/ is the same as to say: ‘/We/ took their son Jeou and killed him’.” (Juang 9.7)
553. *You iue chyi shiah jyr jy tsyr yee*. “/It/ is the same as to say: ‘His subordinates seized him’.” (Shi 5.9; the syntax of this sentence is garbled. We expect either *You iue chyi shiah jyr jy yee*. “/It/ is the same as to say:

- ‘His subordinates seized him’, or *Chyi shiah jyr jy jy tsyr yee*. “/This/ is an expression denoting that his subordinates seized him.”)
554. *Chyi you shiah jyr jy jy tsyr her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ use an expression which tantamounts to saying that his subordinates seized him?” (Shi 5.9; also the syntax of this sentence is garbled. We expect *Chyi yan you iue chyi shiah jyr jy jy tsyr her yee?*, “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ employ the expression *You iue chyi shiah jyr jy jy tsyr yee*.)
555. *Fuu you fuh yee*. “*Fuu* (Arch. *p̄wo*=*p̄iwag*) means *fuh* (Arch. *p̄wo*=*p̄iwag*).” (Yiin 1.2)
556. *Shyang you shiah yee*. “*Shyang* (Arch. *g’ōng*, ‘to make surrender’) means *shiah* (Arch. *g’āg*, ‘to bring down’).” (Juang 30.3)
557. *Dah shyh you shyh shyh yee*. “The great (Arch. *d’ād*) hall means the generation (Arch. *šjad*) hall.” (Wen 13.5)
558. *Fanq you binq yee*. “*Fanq* (Arch. *p̄iwang*, ‘to banish’) means *binq* (Arch. *p̄jēng*, ‘to remove’).” (Shiuan 1.5)
559. *Jih you jih jih yee*. “*Jih* means *jih jih*.” (Jau 7.1)
560. *Shiu jy wei yan you shiang yee*. “The expression *shiu* (Arch. *šjo*=*šjag*) is equivalent to *shiang* (Arch. *šjang*).” (Hwan 3.2)
561. *Suen jy wei yan you suenn yee*. “The expression *suen* (Arch. *swən*, ‘grandson’) is equivalent to *suenn* (Arch. *swən*-, ‘to withdraw’).” (Juang 1.2; Miin 2.4; Jau 25.5)
562. *Shyr jy wei yan you shyr yee*. “The expression *shyr* is equivalent to *shyr* (‘fruit’).” (Shi 33.12)
563. *Bey jy wei yan you fwu yee*. “The expression *bey* (Arch. *b’wəd*, ‘comet’) is equivalent to *fwu* (Arch. *p̄’iwət*).” (Wen 14.6)
564. *Jiang jy wei yan you jinq yee*. “The expression *jiang* (Arch. *k̄iang*, ‘boundary’) is equivalent to *jinq* (Arch. *k̄jāng*, ‘boundary’).” (Jau 1.8)
565. *You jy wei yan kee yii yii yee*. “The expression *you* (Arch. *z̄jōg*, ‘yet’) signifies that one might have desisted (Arch. *z̄jæg/yii*) from the enterprise.” (Wen 6.9; cf also Shi 31.3 and Shiuan 8.5 *You jee kee yii yii jy tsyr yee*., “This *you* is an expression signifying that one might have desisted from the undertaking.”)
566. *Chyi hour jy muu you Jinn jiun jy muu yee*. “The mother of the marquis of Chyi is /as noble as/ the mother of the ruler of Jinn.” (Cherng 2.4)
567. *Jinn jiun jy muu you Chyi hour jy muu yee*. “The mother of the ruler of Jinn is /as noble as/ the mother of the marquis of Chyi.” (Cherng 2.4)
568. *Shyh jiun you shyh fuh yee*. “Serving one’s lord is /like/ serving one’s father.” (Dinq 4.14)
569. *Huei you cheu yee*. “*Huei* (‘to dismantle’) is the same as *cheu* (‘to take’).” (Dinq 12.3)

2.1.5 The copula GS 1079a *djôg/you*, “to be the same as”, occurs once in the *Guuliang* (1:570). This copula does not occur in the *Gongyang*.

570. *Mieh erl bwu tzyh jy you bye jy erl buh bye yee*. “/For a state/ to be extinguished without the ruler being aware of the fact is like dividing what /yet/ remains undivided.” (Shiang 6.5)

2.1.6 The copula GS 27a *gwia/wei*, “to constitute; to be; to act as”

2.1.6.1 *Gongyang wei* is found (a) followed by two nominal referents: *wei x y*, “to act in the capacity of y for x”, in which pattern the x position is normally filled by the pronoun GS 962a *fjag/jy* (3:571–573); in one instance the pronominal form *jy* is replaced by GS 952a *g'jag/chyi* (1:574); (b) as a copula of identification (577–585).

571. *Wei shiong how yee*. “/He/ acted as the successor to his elder brother.” (Cherng 15.2)

572. *Wei ren how jee wei jy tzyy yee*. “The one who acts as successor to another acts as a son to him.” (Cherng 15.2)

573. *Goaren chiing wei jy chyan lieh*. “I shall request to take my place in the front for him.” (Dinq 4.14)

574. *Wei ren how jee wei chyi tzyy tzer chyi cheng Jonq her?* “Since the one who acts as successor to another acts as his son, why, then, should he be referred to as Jonq /Ing-chyi/?” (Cherng 15.2)

It should be noted that the expression 575. *wei eel jiun jee*, “the one who is your ruler (Shi 10.5) has been treated as analogous with 576. *wu wei chyi chi*, “I shall be his wife” (Jau 31.6).

577. *Tzyy jiang buh jong wei jiun, guh muu yih buh jong wei furen*. “Since the son (sc. Yiin) did not intend to remain ruler forever, his mother did also not remain a lady forever.” (Yiin 2.8)

578. *Her jong wei jiun yii?* “Why should you not eventually become ruler?” (Yiin 3.7)

579. *Eel wei wu tzyy*. “You are my son.” (Yiin 3.7)

580. *Syh shyj jiuu ranhow wei nian*. “Only a complete cycle of four seasons constitutes a /full/ year.” (Yiin 6.3)

581. *Buh wei buh jy yee*. “It will yet be auspicious.” (Juang 4.4)

582. *Gwo jiun heryii wei yih tii?* “Why are /all/ the rulers of a state /, past and present,/ one body?” (Juang 4.4)

583. *Chuenchiou fa jee wei keh, fa jee wei juu*. “In the *Chuenchiou* the attacker is represented as the guest and the attacked party as the host.” (Juang 28.1)

584. *Eel wei ren wei yih*. “You are the most benevolent and the most righteous /among men/.” (Shiuan 6.1)
 585. *Liau u der wei jiun hwu?* “How can Liau possibly have any claim to the title?” (Shiang 29.8)

2.1.6.2 Guuliang *wei* is found (a) followed by two nominal referents: *wei x y*, “to act in the capacity of y for x” (8:586–592); in one instance the nominal referents are formally linked in an attribute-head construction (1:593); (b) as a copula of identification (594–598).

586. *Wei jy jong jee guei jy yee*. “The one who served her as a mediator /at the marriage/ uses the term *guei* (‘to return’) of her /going to the capital to be married to the king/.” (Hwan 9.1; Juang 1.2)
 587. *Wei jy juu jee tzwu jy yee*. “The one who acted as host for her /at her marriage/ recorded her death.” (Juang 2.3)
 588. *Wei ren jiun erl chih chyi shy*. “To lord over men and abandon one’s army.” (Shi 23.2)
 589. *Wei tianshiah juu jee tian yee*. “It is Heaven which is the master of the world.” (Shiuan 1515)
 590. *Wei ren chern*. “To be the subject of a ruler.” (Shiuan 15.5)
 591. *Wei ren jiun*. “To be the lord of men.” (Shiuan 15.5)
 592. *Tianwang beng wei juhaur juu yee*. “On the occasion of the death of the Heavenly King /he/ acted as host for the feudal lords.” (Dinq 4.9)
 593. *Wei sheh jih jy juu*. “To act as the master of the altars to the God of Earth and the Spirit of the Millet.” (Wen 13.5)
 594. *Huey jee, way wei juu yan erl*. “The term *huey* (‘to meet’) indicates that the Exterior /party/ acted as host at the meeting.” (Yiin 2.1)
 595. *Syh shyh jjuh erl how wei nian*. “Only a complete cycle of four seasons constitutes a /full/ year.” (Hwan 1.7)
 596. *Wuu guu jie shwu wei yeou nian yee*. “When the five grains all ripen it constitutes a /good/ year.” (Hwan 3.10)
 597. *Syh shyh jy tyan jie wei tzongmiaw jy shyh yee*. “The hunting in the four seasons were all matters related to /the sacrifices in/ the ancestral temple.” (Hwan 4.1)
 598. *Iu shyh buh fwu wei tiantzyy binq yii*. “That /Jenq/ in these circumstances did not submit was a source of embarrassment for the Son of Heaven.” (Hwan 5.6)

2.1.7 The copula GS 866a *diëg/shyh* (see sub 12.4.2)

2.1.8 The negative copula GS 579a *piwar/fei*

2.1.8.1 The following list includes all occurrences of the copula *fei* in the *Gongyang*, with the exception of the commonly occurring expression *fei lii yee*, “/This/ was not in accordance with the rites” (30:599–628).

599. *Tsyy fei shianjiun jy yih yee*. “This was not the intention of the late lord.” (Yiin 3.7)
600. *Yan woo jee fei dwu woo yee*. “The use of the term *woo* (‘we’) implies that it was not only we /who wanted possession of Biing/.” (Yiin 8.3)
601. *Jiun shyh chern buh tao tzeir fei chern yee*. “If, in the case of the assassination of the ruler, the subjects do not punish the assassin, they are not /to be considered true/ subjects /of their late lord/.” (Yiin 11.4)
602. *Buh fuh chour fei tzyy yee*. “If /a son/ does not avenge /his father’s death/ he is not /to be considered his/ son.” (Yiin 11.4)
603. *Torng fei wu tzyy*. “Torng is not my son.” (Juang 1.2)
604. *Tsyy fei nuh yu?* “Was not this /too/ excessive?” (Juang 4.4)
605. *Tsyy fei goaren jy lih*. “This was not due to my strength.” (Juang 6.5)
606. *Ru yeu jee fei yeu yee*. “The expression *ru yeu* (‘like rain’) signifies that it did not /actually/ rain.” (Juang 7.3)
607. *Fei yeu tzer herwey wey jy ru yeu?* “If it was not a case of rain why does /the Chuenchiou/ use the expression *ru yeu* (‘like rain’)?” (Juang 7.3)
608. *Fei shy jy tzuey yee*. “The army had no blame /in this undertaking/.” (Juang 8.4)
609. *Tsyy fei tzyy yee*. “This was not the son /of the late duke/.” (Shi 1.1)
610. *Fei chyi yih yee*. “/This indicates that it/ was not his intention.” (Shi 1.3)
611. *Cheng ren erl jyr jee fei bor tao yee*. “When the term *ren* (‘man’) is used as the agent of an arrest it indicates that it was not the case of a punishment by an overlord.” (Shi 4.5)
612. *Fei charng jyi yee*. “/Taking a wife/ is not a recurring auspicious event.” (Wen 2.8)
613. *Fei charng yueh yee*. “/An intercalary month/ is not a regular month.” (Wen 6.9)
614. *Fei wang jee tzer herwey wey jy wang jee?* “If he was not one of the king’s men why is he here referred to as such?” (Wen 9.1)
615. *Tsyy fei shyh jiun ru her?* “If this was not to assassinate the ruler, then what is?” (Shiuan 6.1)
616. *Tao tsyy tzeir jee fei chern tzyy yee*. “The one who punished this assassin was neither a subject nor a son.” (Shiuan 12.1)
617. *Jeou yueh fei suoo yonq jiau yee*. “The ninth month is not the proper time for the *Jiau* sacrifice.” (Cherng 17.6)
618. *Fei tsyy yueh ryh yee*. “/The death/ did not take place on this day of this month.” (Cherng 17.10)
619. *Fei chyi dahfu yee*. “/He/ was not one of the great officers /of Jinn/.” (Shiang 23.12)

620. *Chuh gong jee fei wu yih yee*. "To expel the duke was not my intention." (Shiang 27.4)
621. *Chuh gong jee fei Ning shyh yee*. "It was not the Ning clan who expelled the duke." (Shiang 27.4)
622. *Chuh woo jee fei Ning shyh yeu Suen shyh*. "The one who expelled me was neither the Ning clan nor the Suen clan." (Shiang 27.4)
623. *Shyng ren fei chyí ren yee*. "A mutilated criminal was not the right man /for this post/." (Shiang 29.4)
624. *Ruoh fwu iue yan wei shinn tzer fei chern pwu shuh nieh jy suoo gaan yuh yee*. "But to confirm agreements and act as guarantor, those are duties in which simple servants and sons of concubines do not presume to participate." (Shiang 27.4)
625. *Fei nuh yee*. "/This/ is not a manifestation of resentment." (Jau 11.10)
626. *Fei jong gwo jy chyn yee*. "This was not a bird commonly found in the central states." (Jau 25.3)
627. *Yow yu jee fei yu yee*. "The term *yow yu* ('the rain sacrifice was performed a second time') indicates that it was not a /true/ rain sacrifice." (Jau 25.4)
628. *Fei jong gwo jy show yee*. "/This/ was not an animal of the central states." (Ai 14.1)

2.1.8.2 *Gongyang fei* also serves (a) as predicate (5:629–633); (b) as a putative verb: "to consider wrong; to blame" (2:634–635); (c) as a negative negating a proposition (9:636–644), and (d) as a subordinating conjunction (1:645).

629. *Chyi lih jy fei yee*. "Their setting him up was not correct." (Yiin 4.7)
630. *Fei yee*. "/It/ was not so." (Juang 4.4)
631. *Fei yee*. "/He/ was not." (Wen 9.1)
632. *Jiun fanq jy fei yee*. "For the ruler to banish him was wrong." (Shiuan 1.5)
633. *Jiun shy y jy fei yee*. "For the ruler to employ him /as an envoy/ was wrong." (Shiuan 1.5)
634. *Fei leang jy yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers wrong that /he/ repeated it (i.e. that the marquis of Jinn first made an incursion into Tsaur and then attacked Wei)." (Shi 28.1)
635. *Guei yu jee fei jyr jy yu tiantzyy jy tseh jee yee*. "The expression *guei yu* ('to take back to') indicates condemnation of the fact that /they/ seized him at the side of the Son of Heaven." (Shi 28.19)
636. *Chih jy yeu ren fei yeou jyi eel*. "As far as the ownership of objects is concerned it may not be established by mere possession." (Hwan 2.5; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 113, note 2.5c.)

637. *Fuh chour jee fei jiang sha jy*. "It was not so that the one who took revenge was out to kill him." (Juang 4.5)
638. *Woo ell jee, fei bii ran, woo ran yee*. "The expression *woo ell* ('we were double-hearted') signifies that we were so, not they." (Juang 23.10)
639. *Yu Guo jy shiang jiow fei shiang wei tsyh*. "Yu and Guo depend on one another for their defence and neither state is free to treat the other as a thing to be given away." (Shi 2.3)
640. *Fei shyy lai chaur*. "/It/ was not so that /she/ sent him /to Luu/ to pay court audience." (Shi 14.2)
641. *Chern fei gaan ku jiun shy*. "/It/ is not so that we presume to cry over your army, my lord." (Shi 33.3)
642. *Fei shiu jia jy yee*. "It is not so that they (sc. the ritual rules concerning the three years' mourning) pertain to an empty foundation." (Wen 2.8)
643. *Fa erl buh yan wei jee fei cheu yih jy tsyr yee*. "When the expression *wei* ('to besiege') is omitted from the account of an attack the /resultant/ expression signifies that it was not the case of taking a city." (Shiang 12.1)
644. *Tsay fei yeou tzuey yee*. "It is not so that Tsay has any guilt." (Dinq 4.14)
645. *Fei wu lih buh neng nah yee*. "But for my strength /he/ could not be introduced." (Wen 14.8)

2.1.8.3 The following list includes all occurrences of the copula *fei* in the *Guuliang*, with the exception of the commonly occurring expressions *fei lii*, "/this/ was not in accordance with the rites", and *fei jenq*, "/this/ was not correct" (41:646-686).

646. *Fei juan shyng yee*. "/It/ was not a case of /her/ travelling alone." (Yiin 2.6)
647. *Yan yii fei jea yee*. "The use of the expression *yii* indicates that this was not a case of borrowing." (Hwan 1.4)
648. *Fei jea erl iue jea, huey yih dih yee*. "The unwarranted use of the term *jea* ('to borrow') is a means of concealing that it was a case of exchanging land." (Hwan 1.4)
649. *Chyi guei jy daw fei suoo yii guei yee*. "The reasons why he returned were others than those which would have warranted the use of the term *guei* ('to return')." (Hwan 15.6)
650. *Chyou chour jy ren fei suoo yii jie huen-in yee*. "Men involved in a feud /with the bridegroom/ are not to participate in his marriage ceremony." (Juang 1.4)
651. *Tsuei ma fei suoo yii jie biann mean yee*. "/Persons wearing/ mourning clothes are not to come into contact with /persons wearing festive/ ceremonial dresses." (Juang 1.4)

652. *Hwan fei show minq jy bor yee*. “Hwan /of Chyi/ was not hegemon by the command /of the king/.” (Juang 13.1)
653. *Sheaujiun fei jiun yee*. “*Sheaujiun* (‘little lord’) is not the same as lord.” (Juang 22.2)
654. *Gwo fei chyi gwo yee*. “The state no longer belongs to its ruler.” (Juang 28.7)
655. *Chin jy fei fuh yee, tzuen jy fei jiun yee*. “As to the affection which was due to him (sc. the successor) /the late lord/ was not his father; as to the veneration due to him /he/ was not /yet/ ruler /in the true sense of the word/.” (Miin 1.1)
656. *Yan tsyh fei jiow yee*. “The use of the term *tsyh* (‘to halt’) implies that /it/ was not a case of going to the rescue.” (Shi 1.2)
657. *Fei jiow erl iue jiow her yee?* “What is implied by the unwarranted use of the term *jiow* (‘to go to the rescue’)?” (Shi 1.2)
658. *Fei gwo erl iue mieh jonq Shiah-yang yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *mieh* (‘to extinguish’) of what was not a state in order to represent *Shiah-yang* as an important place.” (Shi 2.3)
659. *Yan furen erl buh yii shyh shinq fei furen yee*. “When the clan name is omitted from a reference to the spouse /of the duke, she/ was not the /true/ spouse.” (Shi 8.4)
660. *Fei tzuoh yee*. “/This/ was not the case of making /new gates/.” (Shi 20.1)
661. *Fei suoo chii yee*. “/An army/ is not something that may be requested.” (Shi 26.5)
662. *Yan suoo jee fei chyi suoo yee*. “The use of the term *suoo* (‘place’) signifies that /this/ was not the proper place /of the king/.” (Shi 28.10)
663. *Chyi ru fei ru yee; chyi fuh fei fuh yee*. “As for his going /to the capital/ he did not /in fact/ go there; as for his returning he did not /in fact/ return.” (Wen 8.6)
664. *Yuan fei tzai yee*. “Young locusts do not constitute a calamity.” (Shiuan 15.9)
665. *Chyi iue yuan fei shuey muu jy tzai yee*. “Since it (sc. the *Chuenchiou*) speaks of young locusts it was not a case of a calamity occasioned by the fact that the acres were taxed.” (Shiuan 15.9)
666. *Fwu jea fei ren ren suoo neng wei yee*. “Those armours are not what every man can make.” (Cherng 1.4)
667. *Yueh fei ru yee*. “Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the month it was not a case of entering /the capital/.” (Cherng 13.2)
668. *Fei ru erl iue ru bwu pann jing shy yee*. “The unwarranted use of the term *ru* (‘to enter’) implies that one may not rebel against the capital.” (Cherng 13.2)
669. *Fei sheang wey yee*. “/The purpose of a sacrifice/ is not that one should enjoy the flavour /of the offerings/.” (Cherng 17.6)

670. *Fei wei erl iue wei, Chyi yeou dah yan, yih yeou binq yan.* “The unwarranted use of the term *wei* (‘to besiege’) indicates recognition of the fact that Chyi was greater than them (sc. the besieging states), and also that it was embarrassed by them.” (Shiang 18.4; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
671. *Yan jiow how tsyh fei jiow yee.* “Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ states that /they/ eventually made a halt during /their/ rescue operation it was not a /genuine/ rescue expedition.” (Shiang 23.9)
672. *Jiann ren fei suoo guey yee.* “Mean men are not to be honoured.” (Shiang 29.4)
673. *Guey ren fei suoo shyng yee.* “Noble men are not to be punished by mutilation.” (Shiang 29.4)
674. *Shyng ren fei suoo jinn yee.* “Mutilated criminals are not to be approached.” (Shiang 29.4)
675. *Yan guei fei shyh yee.* “Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *guei* (‘to return’) it was not an assassination.” (Jau 13.2)
676. *Sha fei shyh yee.* “/This/ was a killing, not an assassination.” (Jau 13.3)
677. *Shyh tian minq yee, fei woo tzuey yee.* “This was the decree of Heaven, it was not our fault.” (Jau 29.4)
678. *Fei tiantzyy suoo feng yee.* “/He/ was not someone whom the Son of Heaven had enfeoffed.” (Jau 31.6)
679. *Jau gong jy jong fei jenq jong yee.* “The end of duke Jau was not a proper end.” (Dinq 1.1)
680. *Dinq jy shyy fei jenq shyy yee.* “The beginning of /duke/ Dinq’s /reign/ was not a proper beginning.” (Dinq 1.1)
681. *Fei lieh tuu juhous.* “/He/ was not a feudal lord with his own fief.” (Dinq 4.9)
682. *Fei chyi suoo yii yeu ren erl yeu ren wey jy wang.* “To give to others what one has no right to give away is referred to as a loss.” (Dinq 8.16)
683. *Fei chyi suoo yii cheu erl cheu jy wey jy daw.* “To take what one has no right to take is referred to as stealth.” (Dinq 8.16)
684. *Fei dah lih yee.* “/This/ was not a great gain.” (Dinq 13.7)
685. *Fei suoo cheu erl cheu jy wey jy daw.* “To take what one has no right to take is referred to as stealth.” (Ai 4.1)
686. *Fei show erl iue show dah huoh lin.* “The unwarranted use of the term *show* (‘to hunt’) magnifies the capture of the lin.” (Ai 14.1)

2.1.8.4 *Guuliang fei* also serves (a) as a putative verb: “to consider wrong; to blame” (20:687–706); (b) as a negative negating a proposition (6:707–712); (c) as a subordinating conjunction, “unless”, or as a copula in a subordinated clause, “unless it be” (5:713–717), and (d) elsewhere (2:718–719).

687. *Fei Yiin yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers Yiin at fault.” (Yiin 5.4)

688. *Fei yeu suoo yeu fa jann yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns /the army of Luu/ for having fought the troops together with which they had attacked /Sonq/.” (Hwan 12.9)
689. *Fei chyi yih yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ blames /the duke/ for being suspicious.” (Hwan 15.10)
690. *Jiuntzyy fei jy.* “The superior man considered this wrong.” (Juang 28.7)
691. *Tzer fei jy hwu?* “Does this imply that /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers him in the wrong?” (Juang 30.7)
692. *Guh fei jy yee.* “Therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers it wrong.” (Miin 2.2)
693. *Fei fa sang yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns /them/ for attacking /a state which was in/ mourning.” (Shi 18.1)
694. *Fei fenn nuh shiang sha yee.* (Shiuan 15.5) (My first translation of this passage—“/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns him for killing them in anger”—is mistaken. A re-examination of the context has persuaded me that the correct translation shall read as follows: “It was not so that he killed them in anger.” In this passage *fei* functions as a negative negating a proposition.)
695. *Fei cherng lii iu Chyi yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ blames /the duke/ for concluding a ceremony with /the ruler of/ Chyi.” (Wen 4.2)
696. *Sy tyan jiah bwu shann tzer fei lih.* “When the harvest from the private fields was poor, one put the blame on the inspectors.” (Shiuan 15.8)
697. *Gong tyan jiah bwu shann tzer fei min.* “When the harvest from the public field was poor, one put the blame on the people.” (Shiuan 15.8)
698. *Fei gong jy chiuu gong tyan erl leu muu shyr cheu yih yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the duke for having abolished the system of a public field and introduced the system of measuring the land, taking one part out of ten in taxes.” (Shiuan 15.8)
699. *Shiuan shyh erl fei jy yee.* “/He/ blamed /duke/ Shiuan for having assassinated /the prince/.” (Shiuan 17.8)
700. *Fei jy tzer hwu wey bwu chiuu yee?* “Since /he/ blamed him, why did he not leave /him/?” (Shiuan 17.8)
701. *Fei jy yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it wrong.” (Cherng 7.11)
702. *Yueh tzwu ryh tzanq fei tzanq jee yee.* “By giving the month of the death and the day of the burial /the *Chuenchiou*/ blames those who conducted the burial.” (Cherng 15.7)
703. *Fei lih yih shinq yii wey jih syh.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes /them/ for setting up a member of another clan to manage the sacrifices.” (Shiang 6.5)
704. *Guh fei jy yee.* “Therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ finds him at fault.” (Shiang 19.8)

705. *Fei Chaur jy bwu shyh cherng erl chiing tzuey.* “/The Chuenchiou/ criticizes /the city of/ Chaur for not having adorned the walls /of the city/ and asked for forgiveness.” (Shiang 25.10)
706. *Fei Wu tzyy jy tzyh ching yee.* “/The Chuenchiou/ criticizes the viscount of Wu for his lack of consideration for his own safety.” (Shiang 25.10)
707. *Gwo fei wu liang nong gong neu yee.* “It was not that the state lacked skilled farmers and handy women.” (Hwan 14.5)
708. *Fei buh neng tsornng juhous erl wanq yee.* “It was not that /the marquis of Chyi/ was unable to make the feudal lords follow him and that he under these circumstances went there.” (Juang 32.2)
709. *Fei yii sang guei yee.* “It was not so that /they/ returned with the body of the deceased /spouse/.” (Shi 1.5)
710. *Fei gaan ku shy yee.* “It is not that we presume to cry over the army.” (Shi 33.3)
711. *Fwu chiing jee fei kee yi tuo erl wanq yee.* “As to this request /the lord/ may not delegate /someone/ to go forward /with it/.” (Dinq 1.6)
712. *Tsay fei yeou tzuey.* “It is not that Tsay had any guilt.” (Dinq 4.14)
713. *Hwan ney juhous fei yeou tiantzyy jy minq buh der chu huey juhous.* “Unless ordered to do so by the Son of Heaven a feudal lord of the Royal Domain my not leave /his post/ and go abroad to participate in meetings with /other/ feudal lords.” (Yiin 1.6)
714. *Guh fei tiantzyy buh der juan feng juhous.* “None but the Son of Heaven may on his own accord enfeoff feudal lords.” (Shi 2.1)
715. *Guu jee bey jea ing yow fei yii shing gwo yee tzer yii jenq wu daw yee.* “When in times of old one put on armour and helmet, if it was not in order to establish a state, then it was in order to punish those who acted contrary to the correct principles.” (Shi 22.4)
716. *Fei dah erl tzwu torng yan?* “Unless /Chyi/ were great, would the joint siege have been warranted?” (Shiang 18.4; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
717. *Fei gwo buh yan wei.* “The term *wei* (‘to besiege’) is used only of states.” (Jau 26.3)
718. *Fei charng iue guan.* “The term *guan* (‘to watch’) is used of irregular events.” (Yiin 5.1)
719. *Cheu fei lii yeu fei jenq erl jia jy iu tzongmiaw yii shyh furen fei jenq yee.* “To employ what is contrary to the rites and what is not correct and apply it to the ancestral temple in order to make decorations for one’s wife is not correct.” (Juang 24.1)

2.2 Non-copulative nominal predications

2.2.1 In the *Gongyang* non-copulative nominal predications conform to one of the patterns S(subject)–P(predicate), S–P yee, and S–adverb–P yee.

2.2.1.1 The predicate of a *Gongyang* S–P structure may be (a) the interrogative form GS 1f *g'á/her*, “what?” (720–725); (b) a specifying or a numerical determinative and a following noun. The resultant predication may be considered a transformation of the structure *S yeou N (Determinative + Noun)*, “S possesses N”. In a series of coordinated predicates the noun is commonly deleted after numerical determinatives (726–727); (c) a numerical determinative and a following noun. The resultant predication—S (Verb+*jee*)–P (Num+Noun)—may be considered a transformation of the structure S (Num+Noun)–P (Verb) (3:728–730), and (c) a numeral other than *i*, “to be one and the same” (6:731–736).

720. *Yuan nian jee her?* “What is meant by the term *yuan nian* (‘the first year’).” (Yiin 1.1)
721. *Jyi jee her?* “What is meant by the term *jyi* (‘and; together with’).” (Yiin 1.2)
722. *Tzae jee her?* “What is meant by the term *tzae* (‘administrator’).” (Yiin 1.4)
723. *Jay bor jee her?* “What is meant by the term *Jay bor* (‘the earl of Jay’).” (Yiin 1.6)
724. *Chyi dih her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ indicate the place?” (Yiin 1.3)
725. *Tsyy chyi yan jyi wey her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ indicate /the succession/ by the expression *jyi wey* (‘to succeed to the title’) in this instance?” (Hwan 1.2)
726. *Guu jee shanq ching shiah ching, shanq shyh shiah shyh.* “In the times of old there were higher and lower ministers, higher and lower officers.” (Shiang 11.1)
727. *Tiantzyy ba yih, jugong liow, juhaur syh.* “The Son of Heaven used eight rows of dancers, the ducal ministers /used/ six, and the feudal lords /used/ four rows.” (Yiin 5.5)
728. *Pann jee jeou gwo.* “There were nine states who rebelled.” (Shi 9.4)
729. *Chih jee san ren.* “There were three persons who left.” (Dinq 8.15)
730. *Pann jee wuu ren.* “There were five men who rebelled.” (Dinq 8.15)
731. *Chyou jyi jy daw san.* “Three is the correct number /of divinations/ when seeking auspicious signs.” (Shi 31.3)
732. *Yeu Jih-tzyy torng muu jee syh.* “There were four brothers who had the same mother as Jih-tzyy.” (Shiang 29.8)
733. *Tiantzyy jy shianq tzer heryii san?* “Why were there three chief ministers of the Son of Heaven?” (Yiin 5.5)

734. *Char jy tzer wuu*. "Upon close inspection /the stones/ were found to be five in number." (Shi 16.1)
735. *Shyh jy tzer liow*. "Upon close examination /the yi-birds/ were found to be six." (Shi 16.1)
736. *Tzyy yii chyi jyy, tzer Jie-tzy yee syh, Jyue-jiu yee liow*. "If you count off /the merits of these two pretenders/ on your fingers /you will find that/ Jie-tzy gets four /points/, while Jyue-jiu gets six." (Wen 14.8; my translation of this passage is highly tentative.)

2.2.1.2 The Gongyang pattern S-P yee is exemplified by sentences 737–751. The subject of such sentences normally consists of (a) a noun or an endocentric noun phrase (737–740); (b) a personal name (741); (c) a personal name followed by GS 45e *tiǎ* (*tiǎg*)/*jee* (742); (d) a demonstrative (743–747); (e) a verb or an endocentric verb phrase nominalized by *jee* (748–749); (f) an unmarked verb or an endocentric verb phrase (750), or (g) an unmarked predication (751).

737. *Gwo jiun yih tii yee*. "The rulers of a state /past and present/ are all one body." (Juang 4.4)
738. *Chern tzyy yih lih yee*. "The same rule applies to subjects and sons alike." (Shi 1.1)
739. *Furen yeu gong yih tii yee*. "The spouse and the duke constitute one body." (Shiuan 1.3)
740. *Chuenchiou bor, tzyy, nan yih yee*. "The *Chuenchiou* treats the ranks of earl, baron and viscount as equal." (Hwan 11.6)
741. *Gongtzyy Chinq-fuu, gongtzyy Ya, gongtzyy Yeou jie Juang gong jy muudih yee*. "The three princes Chinq-fuu, Ya and Yeou were all younger brothers by the same mother as duke Juang." (Juang 27.3)
742. *Shi-chyi Juo-tzyy jee Li-ji jy tzyy yee*. "Shi-chyi and Juo-tzyy were the sons of Li-ji." (Shi 10.3)
743. *Tsyy pinn yee*. "This was a mission of friendly enquiries." (Yiin 7.6)
744. *Tsyy jie dahfu yee*. "These were all great officers." (Shiuan 11.7)
745. *Shyh Wen Wang jy suoo bih feng yeu jee yee*. "That is the place where king Wen sheltered from wind and rain." (Shi 33.3)
746. *Shyh jiuntzyy jy ting Jyy yee*. "This was the superior man's verdict in the case of Jyy." (Jau 19.5)
747. *Bii her yee?* "What is that?" (Shiuan 6.1)
748. *Bwu jaw erl jyh jee Jiang ren Hwang ren yee*. "Those who came without having been summoned were the men of Jiang and the men of Hwang." (Shi 9.4)
749. *Chin shyh jiun jee Jaw Chuan yee*. "Jaw Chuan was the one who with his own hands assassinated the lord." (Shiuan 6.1)
750. *Juh jy lii yee*. "To build it was in accordance with the rites." (Juang 1.4)

751. *Chern shyng jy lii yee*. “For the subject to carry out his duties /should he be called upon to do so/ was in accordance with the rites.” (Juang 1.4)

2.2.1.3 The adverbial forms GS 49f *ko(kâg)/guh*, “decidedly”, GS 818h *điêng/cherng*, “indeed”, and the connective GS 906a *tsək/tzer* may be inserted between the subject and the predicate of nominal predications. The following instances are found in the *Gongyang*: *guh* (1:752); *cherng* (2:753–754), and *tzer* (5:755–759). It should be noted that the last three examples (757–759) may also be regarded as complex: 757. “Since he was a bondsman of the Jih clan he was a man of mean position.”

752. *Gwo guh chern jy gwo yee*. “The state is indeed mine!” (Shi 21.6)

753. *Tzyy cherng ren ren yee*. “You, Sir, are truly a good man!” (Shiuan 6.1)

754. *Tsyy cherng eel gwo yee fwu!* “Ah, this is indeed your state!” (Jau 31.6)

755. *Bao tzer wu bao yee*. “The treasures are mine, to be sure!” (Shi 2.3)

756. *Chyi shiuh tzer Chyi Hwan Jinn wen*. “The relative order /of the feudal lords/ is /that established by duke/ Hwan of Chyi and /duke/ Wen of Jinn.” (Jau 12.1)

757. *Jih shyh jy fwu tzer uei jee yee*. “But surely the bondsman of the Jih clan was a man of mean position.” (Shi 15.11)

758. *Jih shyh jy tzae tzer uei jee yee*. “But surely the steward of the Jih clan was a man of mean position.” (Dinq 8.16)

759. *Shin tsae jee tzer uei jee yee*. “One who gathers firewood is surely a man of mean position.” (Ai 14.1)

2.2.2 In the *Guuliang* non-copulative nominal predications conform to one of the patterns S–P, S–P yee and S–adverb–P yee.

2.2.2.1 The predicate of a S–P structure may be (a) a noun or an endocentric noun phrase (760–763); (b) a numerical determinative and a following noun. Such predications, S–P (Num+Noun), may invariably be considered transformations of the structure S yeou N (Num+Noun), “S possesses N”. In a series of coordinated predicates the noun may be deleted (4:764–767), and (c) a numeral other than *i*, “one” (2:768–769)

760. *Shyr wu jyh jy wuh*. “Stones are objects of no intelligence.” (Shi 16.1)

761. *Yi uei yeou jyh jy wuh*. “Yi-birds are creatures of mean intelligence.” (Shi 16.1)

762. *Jiing tyan jee jeou bae muu*. “The well fields covered an area of nine hundred *muu*.” (Shiuan 15.8)

763. *Tian jee shern*. “Heaven is a spiritual being.” (Jau 18.2)

764. *Tiantzyy ba yih, jugong liow yih, juhaur syh yih*. “The Son of Heaven had

eight rows of dancers, the ducal ministers had six rows, and the feudal lords had four rows.” (Yiin 5.5)

765. *Guu jee tiantzyy liow shy, juhour yih jiun.* “In the past the Son of Heaven had six armies and the feudal lords each had one legion.” (Shiang 11.1)
766. *Tiantzyy chi miaw, juhour wuu, dahfu san, shyh ell.* “The Son of Heaven had seven temples, the feudal lords five, the great officers three, and the officers two.” (Shi 15.11)
767. *Chuenchiou sanshyr yeou syh jann.* “Thirty-four battles are recorded in the *Chuenchiou*.” (Shi 22.4)
768. *Bing che jy huey syh.* “There were four military meetings /in the period during which duke Hwan of Chyi served as hegemon/.” (Juang 27.2)
769. *I shang jy huey shy yeou i.* “There were eleven meetings in peace time /in the period during which duke Hwan served as hegemon/.” (Juang 27.3)

2.2.2.2 The *Guuliang* pattern *S-P yee* is illustrated by sentences 770–781. The subject of such sentences normally consists of (a) a noun or an endocentric noun phrase (770–771); (b) a personal name, with or without a following *jee* (772–773); (c) a demonstrative form (774–776); (d) a verb or an endocentric verb phrase nominalized by *jee* (777); (e) a verb-object expression (778–779), or (f) an unmarked sentence form (780–781).

770. *Sonq ren way bei jee yee.* “The expression *Sonq ren* (‘a man from Sonq’) denotes a man of inferior rank of the Exterior.” (Yiin 1.5)
771. *Huen men jee yee, syh ren yee.* “The term *huen* refers to gatekeepers and eunuchs.” (Shiang 29.4)
772. *Yiin shyh jee her yee?* “What is meant by the expression *Yiin shyh* (‘/the head of/ the Yiin clan’)?” (Yiin 3.3)
773. *Shwu-suen Der-cherh tzuey shann sheh jee yee.* “Shwu-suen Der-cherh was the one who was most skilled in archery.” (Wen 11.6)
774. *Shyh Chyi hour Sonq gong yee.* “These /men/ were the marquises of Chyi and the duke of Sonq.” (Juang 5.4)
775. *Shyh ren yee.* “This is the work of man.” (Jau 18.2)
776. *Tsyy jyh jiun jy yih yih yee.* “This is the significance of the reporting of the return of the ruler.” (Shiang 29.2)
777. *Dah chih jee buh yi yih ren jy tsyr yee.* “The term *dah chih* (‘grand leaving’) is an expression indicating that not one man was left /in Jih/.” (Juang 4.4)
778. *Bing gongtzyy suoo yii ji hwu gong yee.* “By representing the duke’s son as embarrassed /the *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the duke.” (Juang 2.2)
779. *Ren juhous suoo yii ren gong yee.* “By referring to /these/ feudal lords as ‘men’ /the *Chuenchiou*/ represents the duke as a /common/ man.” (Juang 5.4)

780. *Chyi yih buh kee show iu jingshy her yee?* “Why would it be impermissible to use this term with reference to the /king’s/ capital?” (Juang 1.3)
781. *Chyi ren gong her yee?* “Why does it (sc. the *Chuenchiou*/ represent the duke as a /common/ man?” (Juang 5.4)

2.2.2.3 In one single instances the adverb GS 49f *ko (kâg)/guh* is found in the predicate of a nominal predication in the *Guuliang* (1:782)

782. *Guh wu chern yee.* “/He/ was decidedly our subject!” (Dinq 1.4)

3.0 Explicative predications

3.1 Copulative explicative predications

3.1.1 The typical copulative explicative predication in the *Gongyang* is a minor predication containing the causal copula GS 27a *gwia/vey* and a following marked sentence form, serving as an explicative comment on an immediately preceding question (783–788). The causal copula may also, though much less frequently, be followed by (a) a verb; (b) an endocentric verb phrase, or (c) an unmarked predication (789–792). Two occurrences of *vey* appear to be irregular (793–794). (*Wey*, which is here interpreted as a causal copula, also functions as a preposition, “for the sake of; because of”. The preposition *vey*, which normally introduces a nominal expression, may occasionally be followed by a verb phrase or a marked sentence form).

783. *Herwey bau jy? Wey chyi yeu gong meng yee.* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ praise him? /It/ was on account of the fact that he had made a covenant with the duke.” (Yiin 1.2)
784. *Ran tzer heryii buh ming? Wey chyi huey yeu dahfu meng yee.* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not give the personal name /of the great officer/? /It/ was in order to conceal /the fact that the duke/ made a covenant with /one/ great officer.” (Juang 9.2)
785. *Chyi ju wey chyi shuang shuang erl jiuu jyh jee yu?* “Could it perhaps be on account of the fact that they arrived together?” (Shiuan 5.5)
786. *Herwey shu jyi Chern Yuan Chyau? Wey chyi yeu Yuan Chyau meng yee.* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ link /the name of/ Yuan Chyau of Chern /to the great officers of the feudal lords/ by means of the expression *jyi* (‘together with’)? /It/ was on account of the fact that they made a covenant with Yuan Chyau of Chern.” (Shiang 3.7)
787. *Herwey yih Chyi? Wey chyi jyi fa yee. Huoh iue: wey chyi jiau jean.* “Why repress Chyi? /It/ was on account of the fact that /Chyi/ often attacked /other states/. Some say that it was on account of the fact that Chyi was proud and arrogant.” (Shiang 19.2)

788. *Wey chyi yow tao yee.* “/It/ was on account of the fact that /he/ enticed /him/ and /then/ punished him.” (Jau 11.3)
789. *Yih jy tzer chyi yan jea jy her? Wey gong yee.* “If it was a case of exchange, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ use the term *jea* (‘to borrow’)? /It/ was on account of the respect /due to the Son of Heaven/.” (Hwan 1.4)
790. *Tsyy heryii shu? Wey Shwu-suen Baw shuay erl yeu jy jiu yee.* “Why was this event recorded? /It/ was on account of the fact that Shwu-suen Baw led /the mission/ and /arrived/ together with him.” (Shiang 5.4)
791. *Herwey day juhaur? Wey Wei Shyr Eh tzay shyh yee.* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ represent the feudal lords as being endangered? /It/ was on account of the fact that Shyr Eh of Wei was present.” (Shiang 27.5)
792. *Herwey luh Chyi? Wey yii Juliuah tzyy Yih lai.* “Why were presents given to Chyi? /It/ was on account of the fact that /men of Chyi/ had come, bringing with them Yih, the viscount of Juliuah.” (Ai 8.3)
793. *Fa Chuu wey jiow Jiang yee.* “/He/ attacked Chuu for the sake of rescuing Jiang.” (Wen 3.7; this sentence is irregular. We expect either *Herwey fa Chuu? Wey jiow Jiang yee.*, or *Wey jiow Jiang fa Chuu yee.*)
794. *Herwey luh Chyi? Wey shyh tzyy Chyh jy luh yee.* (This sentence is irregular. I consider it unlikely that the prepositional phrase *wey shyh tzyy Chyh* functions attributively and therefore suggest that the passage is a corruption of *Wey shyh tzyy Chyh luh jy yee.* “/We/ bribed them on account of their assassinating /the duke’s/ son Chyh.” Alternatively we may read *wei* for *wey*: “/This/ constituted the bribe for /their/ assassination of /the duke’s/ son Chyh.” (Shiuan 1.8)

3.1.2 The typical *Gongyang* patterns described sub 3.1.1 are also found in the *Guuliang* (795–798). In addition the causal copula of the *Guuliang* may be preceded by a subject consisting of a verb or an endocentric verb phrase followed by GS 45a *fiǎ (fiǎg)/jee* (799), or by a marked sentence form (800).

795. *Her yonq fwu show yee? Wey yii wang minq jyue jy yee.* “On what account did /they/ refuse to admit /him/? /It/ was on account of the fact that he was disowned on the command of the king.” (Juang 6.2)
796. *Her dah yan? Wey gong jy juei jy yee.* “What was there to magnify in this regard? /The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the event/ on account of the fact that the duke pursued him.” (Juang 18.2)
797. *Wei jy tzer yii dih jyh her yee? Wey wei jy yee.* “/If the *Chuenchiou* wishes to/ express that he was in danger, then why is the place mentioned in the report of his return? /It/ was in order to express that he was in danger.” (Dinq 10.3)

798. *Wey shyan tiantzyy jy sang yee.* “/The offences were pardoned/ in order to create a deceptive resemblance to a funeral sanctioned by the Son of Heaven.” (Juang 22.1)
799. *Yii gwo shyh jee wey chyi lai jiau jie iu woo.* “That /the name of/ the state is here used in place of the family name is due to the fact that he came and had official contact with us.” (Yiin 2.5)
800. *Chyi iue fuh Jiang, wey chyi lii cherng hwu Chyi yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to /her as/ ‘the duke’s wife, /lady/ Jiang’ is on account of the fact that the marriage ritual had been concluded in Chyi.” (Wen 4.2)

3.2 Non-copulative explicative predications

3.2.1 The typical non-copulative explicative predication of the *Gongyang* contains a verb phrase, or a marked or unmarked sentence form as subject and a verb phrase as predicate. Such predications invariably take the sentence suffix GS 4g *dja/yee* (801–811).

801. *Yii Chyi shoou jy, fen eh iu Chyi yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ represents Chyi as the leader of this /undertaking/, thereby giving Chyi its /due/ share of the condemnation.” (Juang 6.5)
802. *Dahfu buh ming, wu jiun yee.* “The fact that the names of the great officers are omitted indicates that there was no ruler /in Chyi/.” (Juang 9.2)
803. *Yan cheu, binq ney yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *cheu* (‘to seize’) in order to embarrass the Interior.” (Juang 9.7)
804. *Chyi jyh, guoh woo yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ records /this event/ is due to the fact that /she/ passed through our state.” (Juang 11.4)
805. *Chyi iue tzyy, jinn jy yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers /to him as/ viscount is in order to promote him.” (Juang 16.5)
806. *Chyi iue Jing, jou jeu jy yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *Jing*, referring to the department.” (Juang 28.3)
807. *Buh yan ru, wey ney huey yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not employ the term *ru* (‘to enter’) in order to conceal /this sad state of affairs/ for the sake of the Interior.” (Juang 28.7)
808. *Buh yan Chuu, buh yeu Chuu juan shyh yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not speak of *Chuu* in order to disallow *Chuu* the right to release /the prisoner/ on its own accord.” (Shi 21.8)
809. *Cheng ren yii sha, ju yeou tzuey yee.* “By referring to *ren* (‘man’) as the agent of a killing /the *Chuenchiou*/ indicates that a guilty party was punished.” (Wen 7.5)
810. *Buh yan chu, tzay way yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not employ the term *chu* (‘to go abroad’) indicates that he /already/ was abroad.” (Wen 7.6)

811. *Chuu buh yan shy, jiun jonq iu shy yee.* "Since the ruler is more important than the army, no mention is made of the army of Chuu." (Cherng 16.7)

3.2.2 In the *Guuliang* the subject of non-copulative explicative sentences, and especially such subjects as contain a quote from the *Chuenchiou*, are often nominalized by GS 45a *tjǎ (tjǎg)/jee* (812–817).

812. *Bwu jiann jee kee yii jiann yee.* "The phrase *bwu jiann* ('were not visible') indicates that they /normally/ were visible." (Juang 7.2)
 813. *Hwan jee shyh wey bih yee.* "The term *hwan* ('to return') indicates that the matter had not yet been concluded." (Juang 8.4)
 814. *Lai jee jie ney yee.* "The term *lai* ('to come') indicates that /Chinq of Jeu/ approached the Interior directly." (Juang 27.5)
 815. *Chyi hour lai shiann jye jee, ney Chyi hour yee.* "The wording 'The marquis of Chyi came and presented the spoils' implies that /the *Chuenchiou*/ treats the marquis of Chyi as belonging to the Interior." (Juang 31.4)
 816. *Meng jee buh shiang shinn yee.* "The term *meng* ('covenant') implies lack of trust." (Shi 5.5)
 817. *Chii jee chuu chyi suoo erl chiing yuh yee.* "The term *chii* ('to request') implies that /he/ stayed at his place and requested to participate /in the covenant/." (Shi 8.2)

4.0 Non-nominal predications

4.1 The preverbs GS 241a *kian/jiann* and GS 27a *gwia/wei*

4.1.1 The preverb *jiann* is found only in the *Gongyang* (5:818–822).

818. *Gong bwu jiann iau yee.* "The duke was not invited to /meet the marquis of Wei/." (Hwan 10.3)
 819. *Jiann shyy shoou Wei, Shuoh erl buh neng shyy Wei sheau jonq.* "Being charged with the protection of Wei, Shuoh /, the marquis of Wei,/ was not even capable of employing a small body of men in his own state." (Hwan 16.5)
 820. *Bwu jiann yuh meng yee.* " /He/ was not permitted to participate in the covenant." (Wen 16.1)
 821. *Gong bwu jiann jiann yee.* "The duke was not received /by the other feudal lords/." (Cherng 16.8)
 822. *Gong bwu jiann jiann, dahfu jyr heryii jyh huey?* "Why is the duke reported to have returned from meetings where he was not received and where /one of his/ great officers was seized?" (Cherng 16.8)

4.1.2 The preverb *wei* is found only in the *Gongyang* (2:823–824).

823. *Gongtzyy tsornng wu yan erl yiin tsyy tzer bih kee yii wu wei tianshiah luh shiaw*. "Prince, if you do as I say and drink this, you shall be spared disgrace and shall not be laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)
824. *Buh tsornng wu yan erl buh yiin tsyy tzer bih wei tianshiah luh shiaw*. "If you do not do as I say and refuse to drink this you shall not be spared disgrace and shall be laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)

4.2 Verbs followed by two nominal referents (VNN), together with all transformations of such structures by means of the following prepositions: GS 97a *giwo (giwag)/yu*; GS 55a *g'o (g'ag)/hwu*; GS 61e *io (iag)/iu*, and GS 976b *ziag/yii*.

All occurrences of the following verbs functioning in these structures are accounted for below: GS 89b *zio (ziag) yeu*, "to give"; GS 252e *xian/shiann*, "to offer, to present"; GS 1085d *diog/show*, "to hand over"; GS 262a *piwan/faan*, "to return, to give back"; GS 15a *ka/jia*, "to add"; GS 33c *ka (kag)/jea*, "to borrow, to lend"; GS 798u *tsiag/jieh*, "to lend, to borrow"; GS 413d *tied/jyh*, "to hand over"; GS 854d *g'ieg/shih*, "to attach"; GS 32e *ka (kag)/jiah*, "to give a woman in marriage"; GS 730i *njang/ranq*, "to yield"; GS 131a *ts'ju/cheu*, "to take"; GS 1085a *diog/show*, "to receive"; GS 905d *tak/der*, "to obtain", and GS 1039a *kog/gaw*, "to inform".

4.2.1 The structure VNN: Verb+object+recipient. In this structure the object position is invariably filled by the pronoun GS 962a *tiag/jy*.

4.2.1.1 There are four instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, involving the verbs *faan*, "to return (something to somebody)", and *jia*, "to add (something onto somebody)" (4:825–827a).

825. *Gong jiang pyng gwo erl faan jy Hwan*. "The duke intended to pacify the state and /eventually/ restore it to Hwan." (Yiin 1.1)
826. *Herwey faan jy Hwan?* "Why restore it to Hwan?" (Yiin 1.1)
827. *Chin shyh jiun jee Jaw Chuan, tzer herwey jia jy Jaw Duenn?* "Since Jaw Chuan was the one who with his own hands assassinated the ruler, why does /the Chuenchiou/ lay the blame for this deed on Jaw Duenn?" (Shiuan 6.1)
- 827a. *Jeu jyh jiann erl jia jy Wu tzyy*. "The Chuenchiou refers to the meanest of the mean in conjunction with the viscount of Wu." (Shiang 29.4)

4.2.1.2 There are four instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, involving the verbs *show*, "to hand over", and *jia*, "to add (something onto somebody)" (4:828–831).

828. *Iu shyh erl how show jy juhoun yee*. "From this /meeting/ onwards /they/ commended him to the feudal lords." (Juang 27.3)

829. *Chyi show jy juhaur her yee?* “Why did they commend him to the feudal lords?” (Juang 27.3)
830. *Jin show jy juhaur.* “Now /they/ had commended him to the feudal lords.” (Juang 28.1)
831. *Jeu jyh jiann erl jia jy Wu tzyy.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the meanest of the mean in conjunction with the viscount of Wu.” (Shiang 29.4)

4.2.2 The structure VNN: Verb+recipient+object

4.2.2.1 There are four instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, involving the verbs *jia*, “to add (something onto somebody)”, and *jea*, “to lend (something to somebody)” (4:832–834).

832. *Jia woo fwu yee.* “/The king/ added to /the distinctions previously given in the form of/ dresses to the duke.” (Juang 1.6; Wen 1.5)
833. *Jea mieh gwo jee daw.* “/The duke of Yu/ granted the right of transit to one who extinguished a state.” (Shi 2.3)
834. *Jong jea jy daw yih cheu Guo.* “/The duke of Yu/ finally granted them the right of transit for the taking of Guo.” (Shi 2.3)

4.2.2.2 There are five instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, involving the verbs *yeu*, “to give (something to somebody)”, and *jieh*, “to lend (something to somebody)” (5:835–839).

835. *Yeu jy tsair tzer iue woo tzwu yih.* “When /his brother/ gave him valuables he said: ‘I already have enough!’” (Shiuan 17.8)
836. *Ru show wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw, tzer ru jy her?* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents, but refuses us the right of transit, what then?” (Shi 2.3)
837. *Bii bwu jieh wu daw, bih buh gaan show wu bih.* “If that /fellow/ does not grant us the right of way, he would not possibly dare to receive our presents.” (Shi 2.3)
838. *Ru show wu bih erl jieh wu daw ...* “If he does receive our presents and grants us the right of transit, ...” (Shi 2.3; we expect the first pronoun *woo*, “us”, in the last three sentences. It is quite obvious that *wu* has been introduced in analogy with the expression *show wu bih*.)
839. *Suey show chyi bih erl jieh jy daw.* “Thereupon he received their presents and granted them the right of transit.” (Shi 2.3)

4.2.3 The structure VNN: Verb+object+contributor. In this structure the object position is invariably filled by the pronoun GS 962a *fiag/jy*.

4.2.3.1 There are four instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, involving the verb *cheu*, “to take (something from somebody)” (4:840–843).

840. *Tsyy cheu jy Sonq*. “Here /it is stated that he/ took it from Sonq.” (Hwan 2.5)
841. *Cheu jy Tsaaur yee*. “/They/ took them from Tsaaur.” (Shi 31.1)
842. *Herwey buh yan cheu jy Tsaaur?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that /they/ took them from Tsaaur?” (Shi 31.1)
843. *Tsyy wey yeou fa Tsaaur jee, tzer chyi yan cheu jy Tsaaur her?* “Since there has been no mention of an attack on Tsaaur, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that /they/ took it from Tsaaur?” (Shi 31.1)

4.2.3.2 There are seven instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, involving the verbs *cheu*, “to take (something from somebody)”, and *show*, “to receive (something from somebody)” (7:844–849)

844. *You iue cheu jy chyi muu jy hwai jong erl sha jy yun eel*. “It is the same as to say: ‘/The earl of Jenq took it (sc. the child) from its mother’s arms and killed it.’” (Yiin 1.3)
845. *Iue Sonq, cheu jy Sonq yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ speaks of Sonq, indicating that /duke Hwan/ took it from Sonq.” (Hwan 2.5)
846. *Tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarng jy way fuu*. “That would mean that we remove them from an inner treasury and deposit them in a treasury outside our state.” (Shi 2.3)
847. *Cheu jy jong jiow erl jyh jy way jiow yee*. “/We/ transfer them from an inner stable to an outer stable.” (Shi 2.3)
848. *Wei tzyy show jy fuh*. “The one who is a son receives it (sc. his status) from his father.” (Yiin 1.1)
849. *Wei juhaur show jy jiun*. “The one who is a feudal lord receives it (sc. his status) from his lord.” (Yiin 1.1)
850. *Show jy wangfuh yee*. “/He/ had received it from his grandfather.” (Ai 2.6)

4.2.4 The structure VNN: Verb+object+goal. In this structure, which is found only with the *Gongyang* verb *shih*, “to attach (something to something)”, the object position is invariably filled by the pronoun GS 962a *ijæg/jy* (8:851–857).

851. *Shih jy Sheu yee*. “In order to connect it with /the state of/ Sheu.” (Hwan 1.4)
852. *Herwey shih jy Sheu?* “Why connect it with /the state of/ Sheu?” (Hwan 1.4)
853. *Shih jy Chyi yee*. “In order to connect it with /the state of/ Chyi.” (Miin 1.6)
854. *Herwey shih jy Chyi?* “Why connect it with /the state of/ Chyi?” (Miin 1.6)

855. *Shih jy way jiow eel*. “/This/ will simply mean that you tie them (sc. the horses) in a stable outside our state.” (Shi 2.3)
 856. *Herwey shih jy Sonq?* “Why connect it with Sonq?” (Shiang 1.2)
 857. *Herwey shih jy Jenq?* “Why connect it with Jenq?” (Shiang 10.9)
 858. *Guh faan shih jy Jenq*. “Therefore /they/ reverted /to the old situation and/ connected it with Jenq.” (Shiang 10.9)

Note that one of the prepositions *yu*, *hwu* or *iu* is invariably used when the verb *shih*, “to attach, to connect”, is negated (10:859–864).

859. *Herwey bwu shih hwu Juliuh?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Juliuh?” (Hwan 7.1; Juang 2.2; Shiuan 9.5; Shiang 13.2; Jau 32.2)
 860. *Herwey bwu shih yu Guo?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Guo?” (Shi 2.3)
 861. *Herwey bwu shih hwu Jou?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Jou?” (Shiuan 1.13)
 862. *Herwey bwu shih yu Juliuh?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Juliuh?” (Cherng 6.3)
 863. *Herwey bwu shih hwu Jenq?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Jenq?” (Shiang 2.9)
 864. *Herwey bwu shih yu Jou?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not connect /this city/ with Jou?” (Jau 23.4)

4.2.5 The structure Verb+object+*yu*+recipient. This structure which involves the verbs *faan*, “to return (something to somebody)”, *jyh*, “to present (something to somebody)”, and *gaw*, “to inform (somebody of something)”, is found only in the *Gongyang* (7:866–872).

866. *Shi-sy buh reen faan minq yu Chinq-fuu*. “Shi-sy could not bear to return this command to Chinq-fuu.” (Shi 1.9)
 867. *Faan minq yu jieh*. “/He/ handed over his mission to his adjutant.” (Cherng 15.2)
 868. *Gaan jyh cheou yu tsornng jee*. “/He/ takes the liberty to present these provisions to /your/ followers.” (Jau 25.7)
 869. *Chii erl jyh gwo yu Shiah-fuu*. “/He/ rose and handed over the state to Shiah-fuu.” (Jau 31.6)
 870. *Shwu-shuh chii erl jyh gwo yu Shiah-fuu*. “Shwu-shuh rose and handed over the state to Shiah-fuu.” (Shi 31.6)
 871. *Juhour jiah neu yu dahfu ...* “When a feudal lord gives his daughter in marriage to a great officer, ...” (Juang 1.3)
 872. *Shyh yii gaw chying yu tzyy yee*. “Therefore I revealed the true circumstances to you.” (Shiuan 15.2)

4.2.6 The structure Verb+object+yu+contributor

4.2.6.1 There are three instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, involving the verbs *jea*, “to borrow (something from somebody)”, and *der*, “to obtain (something from somebody)” (3:873–875).

873. *Hwan gong jea twu yu Chern erl fa Chuu*. “Duke Hwan requested the right of transit from Chern and attacked Chuu.” (Shi 4.5)

874. *Jea twu yu Wei*. “/The marquis of Jinn/ requested the right of transit from Wei.” (Shi 28.1)

875. *Wu heryii der tsyy yu tzyy?* “Why do you do me this favour?” (Shiuan 6.1)

4.2.6.2 There are two instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, involving the verbs *cheu*, “to take (something from somebody)”, and *show*, “to receive (something from somebody)” (3:876–877).

876. *Cheu gwo yu Shu yee*. “/He/ took the state from Shu.” (Ai 6.8)

877. *Gong chin show jy yu Chyi hour yee*. “The duke had personally received her from the marquis of Chyi.” (Hwan 3.8)

4.2.7 The structure Verb+object+yu+referent. This structure, which involves the verb *der*, “to attract”, is found twice in the *Gongyang* (2:878–879).

878. *Der tzuey yu tiantzyy yee*. “/He/ was guilty of an offence against the Son of Heaven.” (Hwan 16.5)

879. *Chyi der tzuey yu tiantzyy nayher?* “Under what circumstances was he guilty of an offence against the Son of Heaven?” (Hwan 16.5)

4.2.8 The structure Verb+object+hwy+recipient. This structure which involves the verbs *jyh*, “to hand over (something to somebody)” and *jiah*, “to marry (a woman to somebody)”, is found only in the *Gongyang* (5:880–884).

880. *Jin jiun jwu jiun jy ell tzyy erl jiang jyh gwo hwu Yeu-yi*. “Now you, my lord, expel your two sons and intend to hand over the state to /me,/ Yeu-yi.” (Yiin 3.7)

881. *Jong jyh gwo hwu Yeu-yi*. “Eventually /he/ handed over the state to Yeu-yi.” (Yiin 3.7)

882. *Dih shiong dye wei jiun erl jyh gwo hwu Jih-tzyy*. “/We/ brothers will in turn act as rulers and /eventually/ hand over the state to Jih-tzyy.” (Shiang 29.8)

883. *Jyh gwo hwu Jih-tzyy*. “/They/ handed over the state to Jih-tzyy.” (Shiang 29.8)

884. *Tiantzyy jiah neu hwu juhaur ...* “When the Son of Heaven gives /his/ daughter in marriage to a feudal lord, ...” (Juang 1.3)

4.2.9 The structure Verb+object+*hwu*+contributor

4.2.9.1 This structure is in the *Gongyang* found with the verb *show*, “to receive (something from somebody)” (2:885–886)

885. *Tsyy show minq hwu jiun erl fa Chyi*. “On this occasion /he/ attacked Chyi after having received a command from his ruler.” (Shiang 19.8)
886. *Mann-gu show minq hwu Ling gong erl lih Jer*. “Mann-gu established Jer /as ruler/ after having received a command from duke Ling.” (Ai 3.1)

4.2.9.2 This structure is in the *Guuliang* found with the verb *jieh*, “to borrow (something from somebody)” (1:887)

887. *Jiun her buh yii Chiu chaan jy shenq Chwei-jyi jy bih erl jieh daw hwu Yu yee?* “Why do you not use your team of horses from Chiu and your jade *bih* from Chwei-jyi /as a bribe/ and request the right of transit from Yu?” (Shi 2.3)

4.2.10 The structure Verb+object+*hwu*+referent. This structure, which involves the verb *der*, “to gain”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (1:888).

888. *Der jyh hwu Hwan gong yee*. “/He/ worked his will on duke Hwan.” (Shi 4.4)

4.2.11 The structure Verb+object+*iu*+recipient

4.2.11.1 This structure is in the *Gongyang* found with the verb *jyh*, “to hand over (something to somebody)” (1:889).

889. *Koong-fuu jenq seh erl lih iu chaur, tzer ren moh gaan guoh erl jyh nann iu chyi jiun jee*. “When Koong-fuu adjusted his appearance and took up his position in the court, no one dared to commit any fault or cause distress to his lord.” (Hwan 2.2)

4.2.11.2 This structure is in the *Guuliang* found with the verbs *jia*, “to apply (something to somebody)”, *jyh*, “to present (something to somebody)”, and *jiah*, “to marry (a woman to somebody)” (6:890–894).

890. *Buh shyy Chyi shy jia uei iu Cherng yee*. “/This was/ in order not to represent the army of Chyi as having overawed Cherng.” (Juang 8.3)
891. *Cheu fei lii yeu fei jenq erl jia jy iu tzongmiaw yii shyh furen, fei jenq yee*. “To employ what is contrary to the rites and what is not correct and apply it to the ancestral temple in order to make decorations for one’s wife is not correct.” (Juang 24.1)

892. *Jyh fwu iu jiun.* “/He/ presented the remainder of the sacrificial meat to the lord.” (Shi 10.5)
893. *Guh jyh fwu iu jiun.* “/The heir/ has therefore presented the remainder of the sacrificial meat to you, my lord.” (Shi 10.5)
894. *Juhour jy jiah tzyy iu dahfu, ...* “When a feudal lord marries a daughter to a great officer, ...” (Juang 27.5; Shiuan 5.3)

4.2.12 The structure *yii*+object+verb+recipient. This structure, which involves the verbs *yeu*, “to give (something to somebody)”, and *show*, “to hand over (something to somebody)”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (9:895–900).

895. *Yii gwo yeu jy yee.* “This was due to the fact that /the *Chuenchiou*/ granted him /the authority of/ the state.” (Shi 3.6; Wen 15.2; Cherg 3.15)
896. *Yih yii gwo yeu jy yee.* “This was also due to the fact that /the *Chuenchiou*/ granted him /the authority of/ the state.” (Shi 3.6)
897. *Yii fuu yeu cheuan.* “/She/ gave the dried meat to a dog.” (Shi 10.5)
898. *Yii gwo yeu jy.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ granted him the /authority of/ the state.” (Shiuan 7.1)
899. *Yih yii gwo yeu jy.* “/This/ also implies that /the *Chuenchiou*/ granted him /the authority of/ the state.” (Shiuan 7.1)
900. *Jiang yii shyh show jy jee yee.* “/The participants at the meeting/ were the ones who were about to hand over to him the duties /of a hegemon/.” (Juang 13.1)

4.2.13 The structure *yii* (+object)+verb+recipient. This structure, which involves the verbs *yeu*, “to give something to somebody)”, and *ranq*, “to yield (something to somebody)”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (4:901–904).

901. *Jih shenq chyi shyh shin yii yeu Yiin yii.* “Having overcome this perversity of mind he gave /the title/ to Yiin.” (Yiin 1.1)
902. *Yii tann shianjiun jy shyh jyh, erl suey yii yeu Hwan, tzer shyh cherng fuh jy eh yee.* “Since /Yiin/ already had fathomed the perverted determination of the late lord and intended eventually to hand over /the title/ to Hwan, this was in fact to give full expression to his father’s evil.” (Yiin 1.1)
903. *Yii yeu chyi dih Hoei.* “/Jyy, the heir-son of Sheu/ gave /the title/ to his younger brother Hoei.” (Jau 29.2)
904. *Jiang yii ranq Hwan yee.* “/Yiin/ intended to resign /the title/ and hand it over to Hwan.” (Yiin 1.1)

4.2.14 The structure *yii*+object+verb+*yu*+recipient. This structure, which involves the verb *gaw*, “to inform (somebody of something)”, is found only in the *Gongyang* (1:905).

905. *Guh yii Hwan muu jy sang gaw yu juhous*. “Therefore /duke Yiin/ reported the death of Hwan’s mother to the feudal lords.” (Yiin 1.4)

4.2.15 The structure Verb+recipient+yii+object. This structure, which involves the verb *show*, “to hand over (something to somebody)”, is found only in the *Gongyang* (1:906).

906. *Jih-tzyy jyh erl show jy yii gwo jenq*. “Jih-tzyy arrived and /duke Juang/ entrusted the government of the state to him.” (Juang 32.3)

4.2.16 The structure Verb+yu+recipient+yii+object. This structure, which involves the verb *shiann*, “to present (something to somebody)”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (1:907).

907. *Guu jee juhous shyr shiann yu tiantzyy yii chyi gwo jy suoo yeou*. “In times of old the feudal lords at /fixed/ times presented the produce of their states to the Son of Heaven.” (Hwan 15.1)

4.2.17 The structure yii+object+erl+verb+object. This structure, which involves the verb *jia*, “to attach (something to somebody)”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (1:908).

908. *Buh gaan yii suoo bwu shinn erl jia jy tzuen jee*. “One does not dare to attach that in which one does not trust (sc. covenants) to a person of exalted position.” (Shi 5.5)

5.0 Included predications

5.1 Marked subordination of clauses

5.1.1 The subordinating conjunction GS 94g *n̄io* (*n̄iag*)/*ru*, “if” is found only in direct speech.

5.1.1.1 *Gongyang ru* is found in five instances, in one of which *ru* is preceded by the emphatic adverb GS 46a *ts’jǎ* (*ts’jǎg*)/*chiee*, “moreover” (5:909–913).

909. *Jiun ru chyn tsyy sanq ren, shyi jy buh mau jy dih*. “If you, my lord, take pity on this lost person, present him with /a territory of/ barren land.” (Shiuan 12.3)

910. *Ru buh tsornq shianjiun jy minq yu, tzer woo yi lih jee yee*. “If, on the other hand, we disobey the instructions of our former lord, then I am the one should properly be set up as ruler.” (Shiang 29.8)

911. *Jiun ru yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh shyr kee yii*. “If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time /as this/ will do.” (Dinq 4.14)

912. *Jiun ru yuh lih jy, tzer chern chiing lih jy.* “If you, my lord, wish to establish him, then /I,/ your subject, beg leave to support your decision.” (Ai 6.8)
913. *Chiee ru Hwan lih, tzer koong ju dahfu jy buh neng shianq yow jiun yee.* “And furthermore, supposing that Hwan were established as ruler, it might be feared lest the great officers would be unable to assist so young a ruler.” (Yiin 1.1)

5.1.1.2 *Guuliang ru*, “if”, is found in six instances (6:914–917). In addition, there are three instances of the structure *Shyy[jy] ru x ran*, “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that it was a case of x” (3:918–920). In one instance the verb *shyy*, “to cause”, appears to have been deleted (1:921).

914. *Ru show wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw, tzer ru jy her?* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents, but refuses us the right of transit, what then?” (Shi 2.3)
915. *Ru show wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw, tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarng jy way fuu.* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents and grants us the right of transit, then that would mean that /we/ remove them (sc. our treasures) from an inner treasury and deposit them in a treasury outside our state.” (Shi 2.3)
916. *Ru jia lih yih yan, mean buh tzuw daw yee.* “If one had brought strong military force to bear on it (sc. Liang), the fact that the ruler was dissipated would not have been worthy of mention.” (Shi 19.7)
917. *Ru buh tsorng, tzer yii jeng yueh shiah shin buu ell yueh shanq shin; ru buh tsorng, tzer yii ell yueh shiah shin buu san yueh shanq shin; ru buh tsorng, tzer buh jiau yii.* “If the reply is unfavourable we divine on the last *shin* day of the first month for the first *shin* day of the second month; if the reply is unfavourable we divine on the last *shin* day of the second month for the first *shin* day of the third month; if the reply is unfavourable we dispense with the *Jiau* sacrifice.” (Ai 1.4)
918. *Shyy jy ru shiah Chyi erl lai woo ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that /the envoy first/ went down to Chyi and /then/ came to us.” (Juang 6.5)
919. *Shyy jy ru gae shyh ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that this was another matter.” (Shi 1.4)
920. *Shyy ru shy gwo tsyr ran jee, buh yeu Chuu mieh yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that /they/ had lost their states is due to the fact that it does not grant Chuu the right to extinguish states.” (Jau 13.6; this structure is irregular; we expect *Shyy jy ru shy gwo ran*, in analogy with sentences 918. and 919.)

921. *Yii shyh yan jy, tzer ru shu jy ran.* “If the posthumous name /of duke Miin/ had been used to name /the shrine/, it would have created the impression that he was /too/ distant.” (Shi 20.3)

5.1.2 The subordinating conjunction *chiee shyh*, “if indeed”, is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:922). in a segment of direct speech.

922. *Chiee shyh tzyy erl kee jwu, tzer shianjiun chyi jwu chern yii.* “If sons may indeed be expelled, then the late lord would have expelled me.” (Yiin 3.7)

5.1.3 The subordinating conjunction GS 777a *njak/ruoh*, “if”, is found only in direct speech.

5.1.3.1 *Gongyang ruoh*, “if”, is found once (1:923). In addition, there are six instances of the structure [*shyy*] *ruoh x ran*, “to make appear that it was a case of x” (6:924–929), and one instance of the structure *ruoh shyh x ran* (1:930). In one instance *ran* appears to have been deleted (1:931).

923. *Jiun ruoh yonq chern jy mou, tzer jin ryh cheu Guo erl ming ryh cheu Yu eel.* “If you, my lord, employ my scheme, then /we/ shall take Guo today and Yu tomorrow.” (Shi 2.3)

924. *Shyy ruoh jonq ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that many /great officers participated in the covenant/.” (Juang 9.2)

925. *Yiin erl taur jy, shyh tuo ruoh yii jyi syy ran.* “/He/ commiserated with him and let him escape /the disgrace of an execution/, making it appear as if he had died a natural death.” (Juang 32.3)

926. *Shyy ruoh tuo ren ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that this was /the work of/ another man.” (Wen 7.2)

927. *Shyy ruoh yih tzuey ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that /she was guilty of/ another crime.” (Wen 14.13)

928. *Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei yeou tzuey, you ruoh chyi bwu yuh fwu tzuey ran.* “Such is the relation between parents and their children that even though /the children/ may be guilty /the parents/ seem not to wish that they acknowledge their guilt.” (Wen 15.11; we expect: *you bwu yuh chyi fwu tzuey ran.*)

929. *Ruoh iue in-ju ran.* “It appears to be the same as *in-ju*.” (Jau 21.3; for this rendering see Malmqvist 1971, p. 208, note 21.3a.)

930. *Ruoh shyh tuo ren ran.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that this was /the work of/ another man.” (Ai 7.4; we expect *Shyy ruoh tuo ren ran*, in analogy with sentence 926.)

931. *Ruoh buh jyi, nae jyi jy yee.* “/The superior man/ appeared not to grieve, but he did in fact grieve over this.” (Jau 16.2)

5.1.3.2 *Guuliang ruoh*, “if” is found twice (2:932–933). In addition, there are two instances of the structure *wei ruoh*, “to create the impression that” (2:934–935). In one instance the verb *wei* appears to have been deleted (1:936). In one instance *ruoh* appears to have been deleted (1:937).

932. *Ruoh fa erl buh neng jiow, tzer wu yii tzong juhaur yii.* “If /Chuu/ attacks /Jiang/ and /you/ are unable to go to the rescue /of Jiang/, then you will have lost your leadership over the feudal lords.” (Shi 12.2)
933. *Jiun ruoh yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh tsyy shyr kee yii.* “If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time as this will do.” (Dinq 4.14)
934. *Wei ruoh jiang shoou erl yuh juhaur jy chaur yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that the feudal lords happened to pay court /to the Son of Heaven/ when /he/ was about to make an inspection tour /in the area north of the River/.” (Shi 28.7)
935. *Wei ruoh faan minq erl how tzuw yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that /prince Jonq Suey/ had reported /the outcome of his mission to the duke/ and thereafter died.” (Shiuan 8.4)
936. *Ruoh yan jong gwo yan.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that it refers to the central states.” (Shiang 2.9)
937. *Wei shyy lai jee, buh shyy der gwei jy yih yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that /she/ was made to return is in order to disallow /her the right to/ return.” (Shiuan 5.5; my translation of this passage is tentative.)

5.1.4 The subordinating conjunction GS 108h *kau/goou*, “if indeed”, is found only in direct speech.

5.1.4.1 *Gongyang goou*, “if indeed”, is found in five instances (5:938–942).

938. *Tzyy goou nah woo, woo chiing yeu tzyy meng.* “If you do reinstate me, I wish to make a covenant with you.” (Shiang 27.4)
939. *Goou yeou lii Wei dih shyr Wei suh jee, mey jyh bii shyh.* “If ever again I tread the soil of Wei or eat the grain of Wei, may the fate of this slaughtered pheasant be mine!” (Shiang 27.4)
940. *Tian goou yeou Wu gwo, shanq suh yeou hoei iu yu shen!* “If Heaven indeed has regard for the state of Wu, /I/ would that it soon makes me repent my faults /and die/!” (Shiang 29.8)
941. *Tzyy goou jy jy, heryii buh ger?* “If you indeed were aware of this, why did you not correct it?” (Jau 12.1)

942. *Tianshiah juhoun goou yeou neng fa Chuu jee, goaren chiing wei jy chyan lieh*. “If among the feudal lords there is one who is capable of attacking Chuu, I shall request leave to take my place in the front for him!” (Dinq 4.14)

5.1.4.2 *Guuliang goou*, “if indeed”, is found twice (2:943–944).

943. *Goou yeou suoo jiann moh ru shen yee*. “If the actual circumstances are apparent nothing is more effective than a profound /concealment/.” (Juang 32.6)
944. *Goou juhoun yeou yuh fa Chuu jee, goaren chiing wei chyan lien yan*. “If among the feudal lords there is one who wishes to attack Chuu, I shall request leave to take my place in the front.” (Dinq 4.14)

5.1.5 The subordinating conjunction GS 290a *šiat/sheh*, “supposing”, is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:945).

945. *Sheh yii Chyi cheu Luu, tserng buh shing shy, twu yii yan erl yii yii*. “Supposing that Chyi would have wished to take Luu: they could have done so with a mere statement to that effect, without having raised an army.” (Miin 2.6; this passage has been mistakenly punctuated in the otherwise meticulously carefully edited Harvard-Yenching Index text, which reads: *tserng buh shing shy twu, yii yan erl yii yii*.)

5.1.6 The subordinating conjunction GS 399a *tsjak/jyi*, “if; if perhaps”, is found three times in the *Gongyang* (3:946–948).

946. *Goaren jyi buh chii tsyy binq, wu jiang ian jyh hwu Luu gwo?* “If I should not recover from this illness, to whom should I hand over the state of Luu?” (Juang 32.2; my earlier translation of this passage in *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 148, is mistaken.)
947. *Eel jyi syy, bih iu Shyau jy chin yan*. “Should you die it is bound to be at the precipitous mountain cliffs at Shyau.” (Shi 33.3; see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 175, note 33.3b.)
948. *Woo jyi syy, ruu neng guh nah gong hwu?* “If I should die, will you be able to reinstate the duke securely /on his former post/?” (Shiang 27.4; my earlier translation in *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 197, is mistaken.)

5.1.7 The subordinating conjunction GS 575v *šiwər/suei*, “although”.

5.1.7.1 With the exception of nine occurrences of the expression *sueiran*, “although it be so; nevertheless”, there are altogether 17 instances of *suei* in the *Gongyang* (17:949–965). In three of these instances (963–965) *suei* may represent a fusion of the subordinating conjunction *suei* and the copula GS 575n *dīwər/wei*.

949. *Tzay ney suei dang gwo bwu dih yee.* "In one's own state the place is not given even in the case of /the death of/ someone who controlled the state." (Yiin 1.3)
950. *Buh dang gwo suei tzay way yih bwu dih yee.* "In the case of /the death of/ someone who did not control the state, the place is not indicated even when it is situated outside his own state." (Yiin 1.3)
951. *Jonq suei yuh lih jy, chyi lih jy fei yee.* "Even though the masses wanted to set him up, their doing so was not correct." (Yiin 4.7)
952. *Chuenchiou suei wu shyh, shoou shyh guoh tzer shu.* "Although there were no /major/ events the *Chuenchiou* records the passing of the seasons which are used as headings /in the chronicle/." (Yiin 6.3)
953. *Suei wei lin gwo furen you iue wu Jiang shyh.* "Even though /she/ was the wife of /the ruler of/ a neighbouring state /they/ still spoke of her as 'our Lady Jiang'." (Hwan 3.6)
954. *Suei wei tianwang how you iue wu Jih Jiang.* "Even though /she/ was the Queen of the King by Heaven's Grace /they/ still referred to her as 'our Jih Jiang'." (Hwan 9.1)
955. *Yii wei suei yuh Jih hour jy binn yih jiang tzanq jy yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that had /the attack of the marquis of Chyi/ coincided with the lit-de-parade ceremony of the marquis of Jih, even then /the marquis of Chyi/ would have buried him." (Juang 4.5)
956. *Huey suei yeou shyh buh shu.* "The last day of the moon is not recorded, even though an event has taken place on that day." (Shi 16.1)
957. *Jiun suei buh yan gwo, gwo guh chern jy gwo yee.* "Even without your statement, the state is indeed mine! (Shi 21.6; I follow the reading *Jiun suei buh yan, gwo guh chern jy gwo yee*, which according to Roan Yuan was found in the original version of the Tarnq stone classics text.)
958. *Chuu ren jy suei sha Sonq gong you buh der Sonq gwo.* "The man of Chuu realized that even if he were to kill the duke of Sonq, he still would not get hold of the state of Sonq." (Shi 21.6)
959. *Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei yeou tzuey you ruoh chyi bwu yuh fwu tzuey ran.* "Such is the relation between parents and their children, that even though /the children/ may be guilty /the parents/ seem not to wish that they acknowledge their guilt." (Wen 15.11; we expect: *you bwu yuh chyi fwu tzuey ran.*)
960. *Suei ney tao yih buh yeu yee.* "Even though the punishment were executed within /their own/ state, /the *Chuenchiou*/ would not grant /them the right to punish him/." (Shiuan 11.5)
961. *Chern tzyy suei yuh tao jy erl wu suoo tao yee.* "Even though the ministers and the son /of the assassinated ruler/ wished to punish the assassin, they had no occasion to do so." (Shiuan 12.1)
962. *Suei yow jy tzer herwey jyue jy?* "Even though /the viscount of Chuu/ enticed him, why should he be disowned?" (Jau 11.3)

963. *Suei bae shyh kee yee*. "Even if one hundred generations had lapsed it would yet be permissible." (Juang 4.4)
964. *Wu suei sanq gwo jy yu, goaren buh reen shyng yee*. "Even though I am but /the ruler of/ an already lost, state, I cannot bear to act in this manner!" (Shi 22.4)
965. *Yii wei suei Wen Wang jy jann bwu guoh tsyy yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ is of the opinion that even King Wen's /righteous methods of/ warfare did not surpass this." (Shi 22.4)

5.1.7.2 With the exception of one occurrence of the expression *sueiran*, "although it be so; nevertheless", there are altogether 24 instances of *suei* in the *Guuliang* (24:966-990).

966. *Suei wu shyh bih jeu jeng yueh*. "Although there was no event /to be recorded in the first month, the *Chuenchiou*/ mentions the first month." (Yiin 1.1)
967. *Jou suei buh chyou, Luu buh kee yii buh guei. Luu suei buh guei Jou buh kee yii chyou jy*. "Even if /the house of/ Jou had not requested /gifts, the house of/ Luu would have had to present /them/. Even if /the house of/ Luu did not present /gifts/, it was impermissible for /the house of/ Jou to request them." (Yiin 3.4)
968. *Suei shy gwo fwu soen wu yih ryh yee*. "Although /they/ had lost /their/ states, /we/ would not treat them less generously than we had done in the past." (Hwan 7.2)
969. *Hwan meng suei ney yuh bwu ryh*. "Although /the ruler of/ the Interior participated in meetings with /duke/ Hwan, /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not give the day." (Juang 13.4)
970. *Guh suei wei tiantzyy, bih yeou tzuen yee*. "Therefore, even though he be the Son of Heaven, there is necessarily one who is even more exalted than he." (Juang 18.1)
971. *Suei leei shiong nian, min fwu binq yee*. "Although there might be a succession of bad harvests the people was not in distress." (Juang 28.7)
972. *Suei tong chyi ren, yii yih erl buh yeu yee*. "Even though /a feudal lord/ may have made his goodness penetrate /throughout the realm, the *Chuenchiou*/, basing itself on the doctrine of righteousness, would not grant him /the right to enfeoff on his own behalf/." (Shi 2.1)
973. *Chaur fwu suei bih, bih jia iu shanq; biann mean suei jiow, bih jia iu shoou; Jou shyh suei shuai, bih shiann juhaur*. "A court dress must be used even though it may be worn; a ceremonial cap must be placed on the head, even though it may be old. The house of Jou must take precedence before the feudal lords, even though it may be in decline." (Shi 8.1)
974. *Suei shy tianshiah moh gaan yeou yee*. "Even though /the king/ had lost /control over/ the realm, none would dare to control it /in his stead/." (Shi 24.4)

975. *Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei yeou tzuey you yuh chyi mean jy yee.* "Such is the relation between parents and /their/ children that even though /the children/ may be guilty, /the parents/ still wish that they escape /punishment/." (Wen 15.11)
976. *Hwa Yuan suei huoh bwu binq yii.* "Even though Hwa Yuan was captured no embarrassment is indicated." (Shiuan 2.1)
977. *Suei jaw Bor-tzuen ru jy her?* "Even if /the ruler of Jinn/ summons Bor-tzuen, how can anything be done about that?" (Cherng 5.4)
978. *Jeu suei Yi Dyi you jong gwo yee.* "Even though /the state of/ Jeu is treated as a barbarian state, it was still one of the central states." (Cherng 9.11)
979. *Shanq suei shy jy, shiah shwu gaan yeou jy?* "Even though the superior had lost it (sc. the control over the realm), who among the subordinates would dare to control it?" (Cherng 12.1)
980. *Guu jee suei yeou wen shyh, bih yeou wuu bey.* "In the past, even though it may be a civil matter, military precautions must needs be taken." (Shiang 25.10)
981. *Jii suei jyi nah chyi shiong, yeu ren jy chern mou sha chyi jiun.* "Although he himself had been anxious to reinstate his elder brother /as ruler/, he plotted the assassination of his ruler together with a minister of that ruler." (Shiang 27.4)
982. *Suei syy buh fwu.* "Even though I may die I refuse to submit." (Jau 4.3)
983. *Chyn suei duo, tiantzyy cheu sanshyr yan.* "Although the /catch of/ game may be plentiful, the Son of Heaven takes only thirty thereof." (Jau 8.6)
984. *Suei yeou tiantzyy jy minq you buh gaan.* "Even though one held the command of the Son of Heaven one would still not dare /to do so/." (Dinq 1.4)
985. *Suei bwu jenq yee, iu meei you kee yee.* "Even though /this/ was not correct, from an aesthetic point of view it may yet be permissible." (Dinq 2.4; my translation is tentative.)
986. *Suei yeou wen shyh, bih yeou wuu bey.* "Even though it may be a civil matter, military precautions must needs be taken." (Dinq 10.3)
987. *Shyryi yueh, shyrell yueh, sheng suei yeou biann, bwu daw yee.* "No mention is made of any vicissitudes with regard to the sacrificial victims that may occur in the eleventh and twelfth months." (Ai 1.4)
989. *Chyi yanq sheng suei sheau bwu bey kee yee.* "As to the rearing of the sacrificial victims slight deficiencies may be tolerated." (Ai 1.4)
990. *Shu suei bwu jenq yii show minq yii.* "Even though Shu was not the true heir he had already been invested. (Ai 6.8)

5.1.8 The subordinating conjunction GS 515c *kjäd/jih*, "once; when".

5.1.8.1 The subordinating conjunction *jih* is found three times in the *Gongyang*

(3:991–993). In addition there is one occurrence of *jih tzer* (1:994) and two occurrences of *jih erl* (2:995–996).

- 991. *Jih tzanq cheng tzyy*. “Once the burial has taken place /the heir/ is referred to as ‘the Son’.” (Juang 32.5)
- 992. *Jih ku yii ren wei tzy*. “When /they/ had finished crying, the placed men to serve as a fence.” (Jau 25.7)
- 993. *Jih jiah Gong-liann Chuh-fuu shuay shy erl jyh*. “When /they/ had harnessed the horses Gong-liann Chuh-fuu arrived leading the army.” (Dinq 8.16)
- 994. *Jih tzer Jinn shy jy jiow Jenq jee jyh*. “Eventually the troops of Jinn who were sent to the rescue of Jenq arrived.” (Shiuan 12.3)
- 995. *Jih erl buh kee jyi*. “Eventually it was impossible to attain to this.” (Miin 2.3)
- 996. *Jih erl iue*: “Eventually /he/ said: “(Shiuan 1.5)

5.1.8.2 The subordinating conjunction *jih* is found 14 times in the *Guuliang* (7:997–1002). In addition, there is one occurrence of *jih erl* (1:1003).

- 997. *Jih shenq chyi shy shin yii yeu Yiin yii*. “In the end he overcame this perversity of mind and gave the title to Yiin.” (Yiin 1.1)
- 998. *Jih jiah jyh iu fu*. “Once married /a woman/ is governed by her husband.” (Yiin 2.6; Cherng 9.5)
- 999. *Tzyy jih syy fuh buh reen cheng chyi ming*. “When the son has died, the father cannot bear to refer to him by his personal name.” (Hwan 2.2)
- 1000. *Chern jih syy jiun buh reen cheng chyi ming*. “When a subject has died, the ruler cannot bear to refer to him by his personal name.” (Hwan 2.2)
- 1001. *Fuhren jih jiah buh yu jinq*. “Once married a woman does not cross the border.” (Juang 2.4 et passim, in all 8 occurrences)
- 1002. *Jih jiehu guu erl shieh jonq, yonq sheng kee yii yii yii*. “Once the masses had been alarmed by the warning drums, one could have refrained from offering victims.” (Juang 25.5)
- 1003. *Jih erl tsyr yan sy liou yii*. “In the end a sacrifice should be performed there and then /the water/ will flow forth.” (Cherng 5.4)

5.1.9 The subordinating conjunction GS 976b *ziag/yii*, “since”.

5.1.9.1 The subordinating conjunction *yii*, “since”, is found five times in the *Gongyang* (5:1004–1008). The predication introduced by *yii* may be either marked (1004–1006) or unmarked (1007–1008).

- 1004. *Yii juhaur jy yuh nian jyi wey yih jy tiantzyy jy yuh nian jyi wey yee*. “Since a feudal lord did not assume his title until the year following that of

the death of his predecessor, we also know that the same rule applied to the Son of Heaven.” (Wen 9.1)

1005. *Yii wu tzong miaw jy tzay Luu yee, yeou shianjiun jy fwu, wey jy neng yii fwu.* “Since my ancestral temple is situated in Luu I am not yet able to wear the /ceremonial/ clothes which my late lord has handed down to me.” (Jau 25.7)
1006. *Yii Jih shyh jy shyh shyh yeou tzyy, tzyy kee yii buh mean woo syy hwu?* “Since for generations the Jih clan has employed you /and other members of your family/ in its service, would you fail to help me escape from death?” (Dinq 8.16)
1007. *Yii yeou shi gong yih jy juhous jy yeou san gong yee.* “Since there was a western palace /we/ also know that the feudal lords had three palaces.” (Shi 20.3)
1008. *Yii tiantzyy san nian ranhow cheng wang, yih jy juhous iu chyi feng ney cheng tzyy yee.* “Since the Son of Heaven is not referred to as king until three years have passed /since his predecessor’s death/, we also know that a feudal lord was referred to as ‘the Son’ within his own fief /for a period of three years/.” (Wen 9.1)

5.1.9.2 The subordinating conjunction *yii*, “since”, is found 46 times in the *Guuliang* (46:1009–1051). In only five of these instances the predication in which *yii* is included is unmarked (1049–1051). In three instances the subordinated clause follows the main clause (1051).

1009. *Yii chyi muh jiun jy chyi wei dih yee.* “Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ indicates both the state and the title of rulers /who killed their heir or younger brother, we/ know that he (sc. the murdered prince) was the younger brother /of the ruler/.” (Yiin 1.3)
1010. *Yii chyi tzay min shanq guh beng yee.* “Since he is high above the people /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his death as *beng* (‘collapse’).” (Yiin 3.2)
1011. *Yii chyi lai jie iu woo, jeu chyi guey jee yee.* “Since he came and had official contacts with us /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his noble status /of the younger brother of a feudal lord/.” (Yiin 7.4)
1012. *Yi chyi huah woo, guh jean yan jy yee.* “Since he treated us in a disrespectful manner /the *Chuenchiou*/ speaks of him in this sketchy manner.” (Hwan 6.1)
1013. *Yii chyi lai woo, jeu chyi guey jee yee.* “Since he came to us /on official business, the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his noble status.” (Hwan 14.3)
1014. *Yii furen jy kanq fwu cheng shuh yee.* “On account of the proud disposition of the spouse /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not enumerate /her together with the duke/.” (Hwan 18.1; for this translation see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 116, note 18.1a.)

1015. *Yii wu wey jy biann tzwu jy yee.* "Since we changed /the ritual practice and wore mourning/ for her /the *Chuenchiou*/ records her death." (Juang 4.2)
1016. *Yii chyi taur lai jyh jy yee.* "Since he came /to Luu/ as a refugee /the *Chuenchiou*/ records the event." (Juang 17.1)
1017. *Yii gong jy juei jy buh shyy Rong eel iu woo yee.* "Since the duke led the pursuit in person /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow the Rong to come too close to our state." (Juang 18.2)
1018. *Yii chyi wei gong pey, kee yii yan sheaujiun yee.* "Since she was the consort of the duke, /she/ may be referred to as 'the little lord'." (Juang 22.2)
1019. *Yii chyi ren Chyi buh kee buh ren Wei yee.* "Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to /the army of/ Chyi as 'men', it cannot but refer to /the army of/ Wei in the same manner." (Juang 28.1)
1020. *Yii chyi uei jy kee yii yan jyi yee.* "Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ belittles him (sc. the marquis of Chyi) it is possible to use the connective *jyi* ('and')." (Juang 28.1)
1021. *'Chuen, shin yan jiow', yii chyi yonq min lih wei yii shi yii.* "The entry/ 'In spring /the duke/ had his stables repaired' is prompted by the fact that /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers that he had already exhausted the strength of his people." (Juang 29.1)
- 1021a. *Yii chyi buh yan Chyi hour buh kee yan Tsaaur bor yee.* "Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not mention the marquis of Chyi it cannot mention the earl of Tsaaur." (Shi 1.2)
1022. *Yii chyi buh tzwu hwu yang buh yan Chyi hour yee.* "Since he did not warrant extolling /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not mention the marquis of Chyi." (Shi 1.2)
1023. *Yii wu huoh jy muh jy yee.* "Since we captured him /the *Chuenchiou*/ specifies his state." (Shi 1.9)
1024. *Yii chyi sha ell tzyy bean jy yee.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ censures him on account of the fact that he killed the two princes." (Shi 1.10)
1025. *Yii chyi shiann Jinn buh kee yii buh yan shy yee.* "Since /Yu/ is mentioned before Jinn it was necessary to refer to its army." (Shi 2.3)
1026. *Yii chyi lai huey Hwan cherng jy wei dahfu yee.* "Since he came and had a meeting with /duke/ Hwan /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives him the full status of a great officer." (Shi 4.4)
1027. *Yi chyi lai huey juh hour jonq jy yee.* "Since he came to meet with the feudal lords /the *Chuenchiou*/ emphasizes the event." (Shi 4.4)
1028. *Yii chyi chih juh hour guh taur jy yee.* "Since he left the feudal lords /the *Chuenchiou*/ represents him as having fled." (Shi 5.6)
1029. *Yii gong jy yeu jy meng muh jy yee.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ specifies the event on account of the fact that the duke had covenanted with him." (Shi 21.8)

1030. *Yii chyi buh jiau min jann tzer shyh chih chyi shy yee.* "His failure to instruct his people in warfare amounted to his abandoning his army." (Shi 23.3)
1031. *Yii chyi tzay tzuu jy wey tzuen jy yee.* "Since he occupied the position held by his forefathers /the *Chuenchiou*/ honours him." (Shi 25.4)
1032. *Yii gong jy huey muh jy yee.* "Since the duke had participated in a meeting /together with him, the *Chuenchiou*/ specifies his state." (Shi 25.7)
1033. *Yii chyi swei Jeu tzyy kee yii yan huey yee.* "Since he followed upon the marquis if Jeu the term *huey* ('meeting') may be employed." (Shi 26.1)
1034. *Yii gong jy fwu jy dah jy yee.* "Since the duke did not overtake /the fleeing enemy, the *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the event." (Shi 26.2)
1035. *Yii wu yonq chyi shy muh chyi shyh yee.* "Since we employed their army /the *Chuenchiou*/ specifies their undertaking." (Shi 26.7)
1036. *Yii chyi tzay jyh tiantzyy, guh jiin erl ryh jy.* "Since he twice summoned the Son of Heaven /the *Chuenchiou*/ carefully records the day." (Shi 28.18)
1037. *Yii chyi lai huey tzanq woo tzuu jy yee.* "Since he came /to Luu/ to participate in meetings and in order to bury /our late lord, the *Chuenchiou*/ records his death." (Wen 3.2)
1038. *Yii chyi charng jyr jonq yii shoou yee.* " /This/ was on account of the fact that he once held an important post with which to defend /the realm of the king/." (Wen 3.2)
1039. *Yii chyi lai woo bau jy yee.* " /The *Chuenchiou*/ praises him on account of the fact that he came to us." (Wen 9.13)
1040. *Chyi iue shy her? Yii chyi dah jy yee.* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ refer to the army? On account of the fact that /the *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the event." (Shiuan 1.12)
1041. *Yii chyi wey jy biann ji jy yee.* " /The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes him (sc. the duke) for having effected a change on this account." (Shiuan 8.6)
1042. *Yii wu ren jy tswen yan daw jy yee.* " /The *Chuenchiou*/ mentions this on account of the fact that men of Luu were present on this occasion." (Shiuan 15.2)
1043. *Yii chyi tzanq Gonq Ji buh kee bwu tzanq Gonq gong yee.* "Since /the *Chuenchiou*/ recorded the burial of Lady Ji, the spouse of duke Gonq, it could not but record the burial of duke Gonq." (Cherng 15.7)
1044. *Yii chyi yii huey jyh yee.* " /We know this/ from the fact that /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the meeting in its report of the return /of the duke/." (Cherng 17.4)
1045. *Yii chyi wey gong cheu jy, guh yih yan jy yee.* "Since /the marquis of Chyi/ took it (sc. the city) on behalf of the duke /of Luu, the *Chuenchiou*/ states this in terms denoting ease." (Jau 25.10)
1046. *Yii Chyi hour jy jiann gong kee yii yan jyh tzyh Chyi yee.* "Since the

marquis of Chyi received the duke it may be stated that /the duke/ arrived from Chyi.” (Jau 26.2)

1047. *Yii Tsay hour jy yii jy jeu chyi guey jee yee.* “Since the marquis of Tsay was associated with him /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to him by his noble title.” (Dinq 4.14)
1048. *Yii chyi show minq kee yii yan fwu show yee.* “Since he had received investiture it may be stated that /the people/ refused to receive him.” (Ai 6.8)
1049. *Jinn hour shy min yii. Yii chyi min wey bay erl jiun huoh yee.* “The marquis of Jinn had lost /the support of/ his people. /This we know/ from the fact that the ruler was captured while his people had not yet been defeated.” (Shi 15.14; we expect: *yii chyi min jy wey bay ...*)
1050. *Yii wu jy syh dahfu tzay yan jeu chyi guey jee yee.* “Since four of our great officers were present on this occasion /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his (sc. prince Shouu’s) noble status.” (Cherng 2.3; I suggest that *wu jy syh dahfu* is a corruption of *wu syh dahfu jy*.)
1051. *Buh yan chyi ren, yii wu bay yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not mention the man /who commanded the Luu troops/ is due to the fact that we were defeated.” (Hwan 10.4; 17.3; Shi 22.3)

5.2 Unmarked subordination of clauses

5.2.1 Selected examples of unmarked clause subordination in the *Gongyang* (1052–1083).

1052. *Neu tzay chyi gwo cheng neu, tzay twu cheng fuh, ruh gwo cheng furen.* “While still in her own state a bride is referred to as *neu*; when on the road /,travelling to her husband’s state,/ she is referred to as *fuh*; upon entering the state /of her husband/ she is referred to as *furen*.” (Yiin 2.5)
1053. *Jianq tzuen shy jonq cheng mou shuay shy; jianq tzuen shy shao cheng jianq.* “When the commander was noble and the troops numerous /the *Chuenchiou*/ states that ‘so and so led an army’; when the commander was noble and the troops were few /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the commander.” (Yiin 5.3)
1054. *Chuenchiou guey jiann buh shyan, torng haw; meei eh buh buh shyan, torng tsyr.* “When there is no deceptive resemblance /giving rise to uncertainty as to the correct identification/ of the noble and the mean, the *Chuenchiou* uses the same appellation /in both cases/. When there is no deceptive resemblance between the good and the evil, the *Chuenchiou* uses the same terms /in both cases/.” (Yiin 7.2)
1055. *Tiantzyy yeou shyh yu Tayshan, juhaur jie tsorng.* “When the Son of Heaven performed the sacrifices on Mount Tay, the feudal lords all accompanied /him there/.” (Yiin 8.2)

1056. *Chuenchiou jiun shyh tzeir buh tao buh shu tzanq*. "The *Chuenchiou* does not record the burial of an assassinated lord unless the assassin has been punished." (Yiin 11.4)
1057. *Jiun shyh chern buh tao tzeir fei chern yee, bwu fuh chour fei tzyy yee*. "If, in the case of the assassination of a ruler, the subjects do not punish the assassin, they are not considered the /true/ subjects /of the late lord/; if a son does not avenge /his father's death/ he is not considered his /true/ son." (Yiin 11.4)
1058. *Tyan duo yih shao cheng tyan; yih duo tyan shao cheng yih*. "/A place where/ the fields are many and the dwellings few is referred to as *tyan* ('fields'); /a place where/ the dwellings are many and the fields few is referred to as *yih* ('city')." (Hwan 1.4)
1059. *Shang gong jy Koong-fuu syy jii bih syy*. "Duke Shang knew that once Koong-fuu were dead, he himself would have to die." (Hwan 2.2)
1060. *Chuenchiou jiun shyh tzyy buh yan jyi wey*. "In the *Chuenchiou* the succession of the son of an assassinated prince is not indicated by the term *jyi wey*." (Juang 1.1)
1061. *Tiantzyy jiah neu hwu juhaur bih shyh juhaur torng shinq jee juu jy*. "When the Son of Heaven gives his daughter in marriage to a feudal lord he necessarily orders a feudal lord of the same clan /as the Son of Heaven/ to act as host." (Juang 1.3)
1062. *Shanq wu tiantzyy, shiah wu fang bor, yuan en jyi jee kee yee*. "When there is no Son of Heaven above and no regional chiefs below, it is permissible to act in accordance with one's feelings of mercy and hate." (Juang 4.4)
1063. *Jiun tswen cheng shyhtzyy, jiun hong cheng tzyy mou*. "While the ruler is alive, his son is referred to as *shyh tzyy* ('generation son'); upon the death of the ruler his son is referred to as *tzyy mou* ('the son so-and-so')." (Juang 32.5)
1064. *Chinq-fuu shyh jiun heryii buh ju?* "Since Chinq-fuu assassinated /his/ ruler, why was he not executed?" (Miin 1.1)
1065. *Jiann bao bih buh tsorng chyi yan*. "When /the ruler of Yu/ sees /these/ treasures he is bound to reject his advice." (Shi 2.3)
1066. *Nan Yi yeu beei Dyi jiau, jong gwo buh jyue ruoh shiann*. "If the southern Yi and the northern Dyi were to join forces, the central states would find themselves in a precarious situation." (Shi 4.4)
1067. *Fuhren sheu jiah tzyh erl ji jy*. "When a woman has been promised in marriage she is given a designation and /the right to wear/ hairpins." (Shi 9.3)
1068. *Jiun huoh buh yan shy bay ji yee*. "When the lord is captured /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not state that /his/ army suffered an utter defeat." (Shi 15.14)

1069. *Tzyy buh yeu woo gwo, wu jiang sha tzyy jiun yii.* "If you do not surrender your state to me I shall kill your lord!" (Shi 21.6)
1070. *Wey cheng wang heryii jy chyí jyí wey?* "Since /he/ had not as yet been referred to as king, how was it known that he had succeeded to the position?" (Wen 9.1)
1071. *Tzyh shyh gong wu jyí bwu shyh shuoh yee.* "From that time onwards the duke refrained from observing the *shuoh* ceremony even when he was not ill." (Wen 16.2)
1072. *Tzyh ney chu jee wu pii buh shyng. Tzyh way jyh jee wu juu buh jyy.* "The one who sets out on a journey does so only to meet his peer. The one who arrives from abroad stays only where there is a host." (Shiuan 3.3)
1073. *Jinn tsyy bwu shenq jiang chiuh erl guei eel.* "/If the army/ exhausted this /supply/ without having gained a victory, /king Juang/ intended to leave /Sonq/ and return home." (Shiuan 15.2)
1074. *Tzyy chiuh woo erl guei, wu shwu yeu chuu yu tsyy?* "If you leave me and return, with whom shall I remain here?" (Shiuan 15.2)
1075. *Chern yeou tzuey jyr chyí jiun, tzyy yeou tzuey jyr chyí fuh, tsyy ting shy jy dah jee yee.* "To arrest the ruler when his subject is guilty of a crime and to arrest the father when his son is guilty of a crime, this is a great miscarriage of justice." (Cherng 16.11)
1076. *Wu jiun minq buh gaan tzuw dahfu.* "Unless the ruler so ordered no record was made of the death of a great officer." (Cherng 17.10)
1077. *Fuhren yeh chu, bwu jiann fuh muu bwu shiah tarng.* "When a woman intends to go out at night, unless she sees her governess and her guardian /by her side/ she does not descend the hall." (Shiang 30.6)
1078. *Jiun yeou shyh yu miaw, wen dahfu jy sang, chiuh yueh tzuw shyh.* "When the lord sacrifices in his ancestral temple and hears of the death of a great officer, he eliminates the music and completes the sacrifice." (Jau 15.2)
1079. *Yi Dyí shiang yow jiuntzyy buh jyí.* "The superior man shows no anxiety when /the rulers of/ two barbarian nations entice one another." (Jau 16.2)
1080. *Yeou neng wey woo sha sha Yan jee, wu wei chyí chí.* "If anyone is able to kill Yan's murderer for me, I shall be his wife." (Jau 31.6)
1081. *Shyr bih tzuoh chyí ell tzyy iu chyí tseh erl syh jy.* "When /they/ had their meals /they/ always seated their two sons next to themselves and fed them." (Jau 31.6)
1082. *Fuh bwu show ju, tzyy fuh chour kee yee. Fuh show ju, tzyy fuh chour, tui renn jy daw yee.* "When the father did not deserve his punishment, it is permissible for his son to take revenge. For a son to revenge a father who deserved his punishment is like pushing the sword /into the hands of his foe/." (Dinq 4.14)
1083. *Gwo bao yee. Sanq jy shu, der jy shu.* "/These/ were state treasures. When they were lost, this was recorded, when they were found, this was recorded." (Dinq 9.3).

5.2.2 Selected examples of unmarked clause subordination in the *Guuliang* (1084–1109).

1084. *Yeou jyh tzuen jee bwu ell jy yee.* “When there is one in the most exalted position /his subjects/ do not match him.” (Yiin 1.6)
1085. *Fuhren tzay jia jyh iu fuh; jih jiah jyh iu fu; fu syy tsornng jaangtzyy.* “While still at home a woman is governed by her father; once married she is governed by her husband; after the death of her husband she follows her eldest son.” (Yiin 2.6)
1086. *Furen hong bwu dih.* “When a lady dies the place /of her death/ is not recorded.” (Yiin 2.8)
1087. *Jianq bei shy jonq iue shy.* “When the commander had mean rank and the troops were numerous /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the army.” (Yiin 5.3)
1088. *Lii shuhtzyy wei jiun wey chyi muu juh gong.* “The ritual prescribes that when a son of a concubine becomes ruler he builds a shrine palace for his mother.” (Yiin 5.4)
1089. *Fa gwo buh yan wei yih.* “The phrase ‘to besiege a city’ is not used in conjunction with the phrase ‘to attack a state’.” (Yiin 5.9)
1090. *Jiun shyh tzeir buh tao buh shu tzanq.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not record the burial of an assassinated prince unless the assassin has been punished.” (Yiin 11.4)
1091. *Lii tiantzyy tzay shanq, juh hour buh der yii dih shiang yeu yee.* “According to the rules of propriety, when the Son of Heaven occupies his exalted position, feudal lords were not allowed to give land to one another.” (Hwan 1.4)
1092. *Lii sonq neu fuh bwu shiah tarng, muu buh chu jih men, ju muu shiong dih buh chu chiueh men.* “According to the rules of propriety, when escorting a daughter the father does not descend from the hall, the mother does not go beyond the gate of the temple and the elder and younger aunts do not go beyond the gate towers.” (Hwan 3.6)
1093. *Shenqren lih bih how jyh, tiantzyy ruoh bih shian pann.* “When a sage /eventually/ is established /as king, the barbarian states/ will necessarily be the last to arrive /in order to submit to him/. Under a weak Son of Heaven they will be the first to rebel.” (Juang 10.6)
1094. *Jong gwo buh yan bay, Tsay hour chyi shiann huoh hwu?* “If the term *bay* (‘defeat’) had not been used of a central state, would the capture of the marquis of Tsay then have been made evident?” (Juang 10.6)
1095. *Jiang yeou chyi moh, buh der bwu luh chyi been yee.* “Since the effect (sc. Jau’s flight to Luu) was to be recorded, it was necessary also to record the cause.” (Juang 17.1)
1096. *Wu shyh buh chu jinq.* “When there are no official matters /a feudal lord/ does not leave his state.” (Juang 23.3)

1097. *Gwo wu san nian jy shiuh iue gwo fei chyi gwo yee.* "When a state does not have provisions for three years it is said that the state no longer belongs to its ruler." (Juang 28.7)
1098. *Bii bwu jieh wu daw, bih buh gaan show wu bih.* "If that /fellow/ does not grant us the right of transit, he would certainly not dare to receive our presents." (Shi 2.3)
1099. *Juhour syy iu gwo bwu dih, syy iu way dih. Syy iu shy herwey bwu dih?* "When a feudal lord dies in his own state /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not record the place /of his death/. But when he dies abroad, the place /of his death/ is recorded. Why is the place not recorded when he dies on a campaign?" (Shi 4.3)
1100. *Sheu jiah ji erl tzyh jy.* "/When a woman/ is promised in marriage she is given /the right to wear/ hairpins and a designation." (Shi 9.3)
1101. *Tiantzyy wu chu. Chu shy tianshiah yee.* "The Son of Heaven does not leave his realm. If he does /it signifies that he/ has lost the realm." (Shi 24.4)
1102. *Shy chu bwu bih faan; jaan bwu bih shenq.* "When an army sets out it does not necessarily return. When it engages in battle it does not necessarily win." (Shi 26.5)
1103. *Chian lii erl shyi ren wey yeou buh wang jee.* "No one has as yet made a surprise attack on others from a distance of a thousand *lii* without perishing himself." (Shi 33.3)
1104. *Ruu syy bih iu Shyau jy yan yn jy shiah.* "When you die it will be below the mountainous cliffs at Shyau." (Shi 33.3)
- 1104a. *Yan Jou bih yii jonq yeu dah yan jy.* "When referring to Jou one must use words expressing multitude and greatness." (Wen 9.3)
1105. *Yi jann bwu keh chiing tzay. Tzay bwu keh chiing san. San bwu keh chiing syh. Syh bwu keh chiing wuu. Wuu bwu keh jeu gwo erl show.* "If we lose the first battle, I beg leave to fight a second battle. If we lose, I beg leave to fight a third battle. If we lose, I beg leave to fight a fourth battle. If we lose, I beg leave to fight a fifth battle. If we lose the fifth battle, we shall hand over the entire state /of Chyi to you/." (Cherng 2.4)
1106. *Gongshyh bwu sheh buh kee yii jih. Ifwu buh shiou buh kee yii jih. Ju maa chih shieh bwu bey buh kee yii jih. Yeousy yih ren bwu bey chyi jyr buh kee yii jih.* "No sacrifice may be performed unless the /proper/ shrines and buildings have been established. No sacrifice may be performed unless the /proper/ dresses have been repaired. No sacrifices may be performed unless chariots, horses, and other implements have been amply provided. No sacrifice may be performed unless every official has performed all his duties." (Cherng 17.6)
1107. *Guu jee dah gwo guoh sheau yih, sheau yih bih shyh cherng erl chiing tzuey.* "In times of old, when /the ruler of/ a great state passed a small

- city, /the inhabitants of/ the small city must adorn the walls /of the city/ and ask the indulgence /of the ruler of the great state/.” (Shiang 25.10)
1108. *Fuhren jy yih, fuhmuu bwu tzay, shiau bwu shiah tarnng.* “The duties of a woman prescribe that she must not descend from the hall at night when her governess is not present.” (Shiang 30.3)
1109. *Tzyy jih sheng, buh mean hwu shoei huoo, muu jy tzuey yee. Ji guann cherng torng, bwu jiow shy fuh, fuh jy tzuey yee. Jiow shy, shyue wenn wu fang, shin jyh buh tong, shen jy tzuey yee. Shin jyh jih tong erl ming yuh bwu wenn, yeou jy tzuey yee. Ming yuh jih wenn, yeou sy buh jeu, yeou sy jy tzuey yee. Yeou sy jeu jy, wanq jee bwu yonq, wanq jee jy guoh yee.* “If, when a child is born, it does not escape the dangers of floods and fire, the mother is to blame. If, when his hair has been fixed in the style of a young boy, he does not approach a teacher, his father is to blame. If, after having approached a teacher, his studying has no direction and his mind lacks penetration, then he himself is to blame. If, after penetrating studies his fame is not gained, his friends are to blame. If, after having gained fame, the officials do not promote him, the officials are to blame. If, after having been promoted, he is not employed by the king, the king will have made a mistake.” (Jau 19.5)

5.3 Included predications as subjects. Such predications are normally marked by the subordinating particle GS 962a *tjæg/jy* (*S jy P*), or by the substitution of the pronoun GS 952a *g’jæg/chyi* for *S jy*. Included predications which contain coordinated expressions as predicates are normally unmarked.

5.3.1 Selected examples of marked (1110–1116) and unmarked (1117–1123) included predications as subjects in the *Gongyang*.

1110. *Shianjiun jy buh eel jwu kee jy yii.* “It is indeed obvious that the late lord did not /intend to/ expel you.” (Yiin 3.7)
1111. *Jih hour jy buh ju, jyh jin yeou Jih jee, you wu ming tiantzyy yee.* “That the marquis of Jih was not executed and that the state of Jih was allowed to exist until the present time tantamounts to the fact that there was no enlightened Son of Heaven.” (Juang 4.4)
1112. *Jinn jy buh yan chu ruh jee yeong wey Wen gong huey yee.* “That /the Chuenchiou/ does not record the leaving and the entering of /the dukes of/ Jinn is in all instances a concealment for the sake of duke Wen.” (Shi 10.5)
1113. *Hwan gong jy sheang gwo yee charng.* “Duke Hwan enjoyed /the position of ruler of/ his state for a long period.” (Shi 10.5)
1114. *Wen gong jy sheang gwo yee doan.* “Duke Wen enjoyed /the position of ruler of/ his state for a short period.” (Shi 10.5)
1115. *Shianjiun jy suoo yii buh yeu tzyy gwo erl yeu dih jee, farn wey Jih-tzyy guh yee.* “That the late lord did not hand the state to /his/ son, but instead

handed it to /you, his/ younger brother, was entirely on account of /you, /
Jih-tzyy." (Shiang 29.8)

1116. *Jiuntzyy jy shann shann yee charng, wuh eh yee doan.* "In praising the good, the superior man considers the far-reaching effects, but his condemnation of evil stops short /at the person of the culprit/." (Jau 20.2)
1117. *Juhour yueh jinq sonq neu fei lii yee.* "For a feudal lord to cross the border to escort his daughter is not in accordance with the rites." (Hwan 3.6)
1118. *Juhour yueh jinq guan sheh fei lii yee.* "For a feudal lord to cross the border to watch /the services at/ the altar of the Spirit of the land was not in accordance with the rites." (Juang 23.3)
1119. *Dahfu yueh jinq sonq neu fei lii yee.* For a great officer to cross the border to escort his daughter was not in accordance with the rites." (Juang 27.5)
1120. *Jiun shy y fei yee; chern shyng jy lii yee.* "For the ruler to employ him was wrong; for the subject to carry out his duties /should he be called upon to do so/ was in accordance with the rites." (Shiuan 1.5)
1121. *San gwo lai yinq fei lii yee.* "For /the rulers of/ three states to send accompanying brides was not in accordance with the rites." (Cherng 10.4)
1122. *Juhour jiann iu tiantzyy, dahfu jiann iu juhous jeou yii.* "For a long time already have the feudal lords usurped /rites proper to/ the Son of Heaven, and great officers those /proper to/ a feudal lord." (Jau 25.7)
1123. *Jih shyh der min jonq jeou yii.* "The Jih clan has already for a long time held /the affection of/ the masses." (Jau 25.7)

5.3.2 Selected examples of marked (1124–1133) and unmarked (1134–1138) included predications as subjects in the *Guuliang*.

1124. *Jiun jy buh cheu wei gong her yee?* "What is meant by /the statement that/ the lord did not choose to become duke??" (Yiin 1.1)
1125. *Shianjiun jy yuh yeu Hwan fei jenq yee.* "That the late lord wished to hand over /the state/ to Hwan was not correct." (Yiin 1.1)
1126. *Juh-shiu jy chieh shy shyan yee.* "That Juh-shiu is referred to /simply/ by his personal name indicates the lapse of his attempt at arrogation." (Yiin 4.6)
1127. *Juhour jy tsan meng iu shyh shyy.* "This was the first instance of a covenant between three feudal lords." (Yiin 8.6)
1128. *Jih guh buh yan jyi wey jy wei jenq her yee?* "Why is it that according to the correct norm the succession of an assassinated ruler is not indicated by the term *jyi wey*?" (Hwan 1.2)
1129. *Koong-fuu jy shian syy her yee?* "How did it happen that Koong-fuu died before /the duke/?" (Hwan 2.2)
1130. *Gong jy nih erl huey jy kee yee.* "Under these circumstances/ it was

- proper for the duke to go to meet him and have a meeting with him.” (Hwan 3.7)
1131. *Gong jy chin nah bih fei lii yee*. “For the duke to present the marriage offerings in person was not in accordance with the rites.” (Juang 22.6)
1132. *Gong jy juei jy fei jenq yee*. “For the duke to pursue him in person was not correct.” (Shi 26.2)
1133. *Jenq jy ming shy gwo yee*. “That /the marquis of Wei/ is here mentioned by his personal name Jenq indicates that he had lost his state.” (Shi 28.11)
1134. *Juhour shiang fa cheu dih iu shyh shyy*. “This was the first instance of feudal lords attacking one another and taking cities from one another.” (Yiin 4.1)
1135. *Wuu guu jie shwu wei yeou nian*. “When the five grains all ripen it constitutes a good year.” (Hwan 3.10)
1136. *Chyi yih buh kee show iu jingshy her yee?* “Why would it be impermissible to use this term with reference to the capital /of the king/?” (Juang 1.3)
1137. *Dahfu shy chyi jiun yii gwo shyh jee shyan yee*. “To use the name of the state in place of the surname of a great officer who has assassinated his ruler indicates arrogation.” (Juang 8.5)
1138. *Juhour wu suh juhous shiang guei suh jenq yee*. “When a feudal lord lacks grain it is correct for /another/ feudal lord to present grain to him.” (Juang 28.7)

5.4 Included predications as objects of verbs. The corpus includes all occurrences of marked and unmarked predications serving as objects to the following verbs:

GS 251a *ngiǎn/yan*, “to say, to state”; GS 241a *kian/jiann*, “to see”; and *g’ian/shiann*, “to make appear”; GS 863a *tiēg/jy*, “to know”; GS 547i *kjær/ji*, “to criticize”; GS 370a *iēn/in*, “to base oneself on”; GS 976n’ *d’æg/day*, “to wait until”; GS 571s *xiwār/huey*, “to avoid mentioning; to conceal”; GS 317a *d’âd/dah*, “to magnify”; GS 1188a *d’iung/jonq*, “to stress; to consider important”; GS 833j *tiēng/jenq*, “to consider correct”; GS 480a *kjæn/jiin*, “to exercise caution”; GS 475q *miwēn/miin*, “to express grief over”; GS 205a *âian/shann*, “to approve of”; GS 540b *kjwəd/guey*, “to value”; GS 955a *xiæg/shii*, “to feel happy over”; GS 1085a *diôg/show*, “to receive”; GS 818a *diēng/cherng*, “to give full expression to”; GS 75a *kjio (kjag)/jeu*, “to raise; to bring forth for discussion”; GS 976 l’ *d’æg/day*, “to consider endangered”; GS 961g’ *d’æg/day*, “to wait until”; GS 133a *sju/shiu*, “to wait until”; GS 760a *miǎng/ming*, “to make clear”; GS 805h *âg/wuh*, “to condemn”; GS 579a *piwār/fei*, “to consider wrong; to blame”.

5.4.1 The verb *yan*, “to say; to state”, followed by marked and unmarked predications as objects.

5.4.1.1 There are altogether 42 instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, of which 15 are marked (15:1139–1150) and 27 unmarked (27:1151–1173). Elision of the subordinating particle GS 962a *ijag/jy* is sometimes conditioned by the presence of the pronoun *jy* in the same sentence (see examples 1151, 1152, 1154, 1156, 1159, 1165, 1167, 1169 and 1173).

1139. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Hu jy chu ben?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Hu left /his state/ and fled?” (Hwan 15.9)
1140. *Yan Hu wei jiun jy uei yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ states that Hu’s qualities as a ruler were insignificant.” (Hwan 15.9; the subject of the included predication itself constitutes an included predication, *Hu wei jiun*, in which the subordinating marker has been deleted.)
1141. *Herwey buh yan chyi huoh?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that he was captured?” (Juang 10.6; Ai 7.4)
1142. *Herwey buh yan chyi mieh?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that it was extinguished?” (Juang 26.3; Ai 8.1)
1143. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Huey gong jy ruh?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that duke Huey entered /into Jinn/?” (Shi 10.5)
1144. *Herwey buh yan chyi wei?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that they besieged /the city/?” (Shi 21.6)
1145. *Yan Shwu Ji jy lai erl buh yan Gau Guh jy lai tzer buh kee.* “It would be inadmissible to state that Shwu Ji arrived without /at the same time/ stating that Gau Guh arrived.” (Shiuan 5.5)
1146. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Pyau jy lih?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Pyau was established as ruler?” (Shiang 26.3)
1147. *Buh yan Pyau jy lih jee yii wuh Wei hour yee.* “By not stating that Pyau was established as ruler /the *Chuenchiou*/ condemns the marquis of Wei.”
1148. *Yan Chuu jy tuo hwu tao Jau yii mieh Cherng yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ states that Chuu took the punishment of Jau as a pretext for extinguishing Chern.” (Jau 1.2)
1149. *Bann tzer herwey buh yan chyi bann?* “If he rebelled, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that he rebelled?” (Jau 20.2)
1150. *Herwey buh yan chyi fuh lih?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that they were re-erected?” (Ai 3.3)
1151. *Herwey buh yan Chyi mieh jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Chyi extinguished it?” (Juang 4.4; Shi 17.2)
1152. *Herwey buh yan Dyi mieh jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the Dyi barbarians extinguished it?” (Shi 1.2; 2.1)
1153. *Chyi dih tzer chyi yan Chyi ren yii guei her?* “If it was a place in Chyi, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that the men of Chyi brought her back /home/?” (Shi 1.5)

1154. *Herwey buh yan Hwan gong cherng jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that duke Hwan walled it (sc. the city of *Cherng-chiou*)?” (Shi 2.1; 14.1)
1155. *Yeuan gwo jyh yii, tzer jong gwo herwey dwu yan Chyi Sonq jyh eel?* “Since the /rulers of/ the distant states had arrived, then why is it said that of the central states only Chyi and Sonq arrived?” (Shi 2.4)
1156. *Herwey buh yan Shyu Jeu shyh jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Shyu and Jeu threatened it?” (Shi 14.1)
1157. *Jiun huoh buh yan shy bay ji yee.* “When the lord is captured /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not state that /his/ army suffered an utter defeat.” (Shi 15.14)
1158. *Heryii buh yan shy bay ji?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the army suffered an utter defeat?” (Shi 15.14)
1159. *Herwey buh yan Chuu tzyy jyr jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the viscount of Chuu seized him?” (Shi 21.4)
1160. *Herwey buh yan gong ru jingshy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the duke travelled to the capital?” (Shi 28.10)
1161. *Tiantzyy tzay shyh, tzer herwey buh yan tiantzyy tzay shyh?* “If the Son of Heaven was there, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that he was there?” (Shi 28.10)
1162. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Chyi ren jyr Shan bor jyi tzyy Shwu Ji?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the men of Chyi seized the earl of Shan and /our/ daughter Shwu Ji?” (Wen 14.13)
1163. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan gong wu jyi bwu shyh shuoh?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the duke failed to observe the *shuoh* ceremony even when he suffered no ailment?” (Wen 16.2)
1164. *Chyi yan wann ruh chiuh yueh her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that the flutes were removed when the dancers entered?” (Shiuan 8.6)
1165. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Jinn bay jy?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Jinn defeated them?” (Cherng 1.6)
1166. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan shy bay ji?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the army suffered an utter defeat?” (Cherng 16.7)
1167. *Herwey buh yan juhohr shuh jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the feudal lords guarded it?” (Shiang 5.9; 10.9)
1168. *Herwey buh yan Lai jiun chu ben?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the ruler of Lai left /his state/ and fled?” (Shiang 6.8)
1169. *Herwey buh yan chyi dahfu shyh jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that his great officers assassinated him?” (Shiang 7.9)
1170. *Chyi yan dahfu meng her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that the great officers covenanted?” (Shiang 16.2)
1171. *Chyi yan Chern huoh her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that Chern suffered a fire?” (Jau 9.3)

1172. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Jyh men tzai jyi leang guann?* “If so, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the fire at the Jyh gate reached to the two watch towers?” (Dinq 2.2)

1173. *Herwey buh yan juhaur guei jy?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the feudal lords conveyed it back?” (Dinq 5.2)

5.4.1.2 There are altogether 15 instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, of which 12 are marked (12:1174–1185) and three unmarked (3:1186–1188). Two of the unmarked instances (1187–1188) contain the particle GS 962a, marking nominal attribution.

1174. *Yan jiun jy buh cheu wei gong yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ states that the lord did not choose to become duke.” (Yiin 1.1)

1175. *Chyi buh yan Huei jy yii lai her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Huei returned with /her/?” Hwan 3.8)

1176. *Chyi buh yan Chyi hour jy lai nih her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the marquis of Chyi came to meet his bride /in Luu/?” (Juang 1.4)

1177. *Yan min jy tsorng jee syh nian erl how bih yee.* “It is said of the exodus of the people that it was not completed until after four years.” (Juang 4.4)

1178. *Chyi buh yan Rong jy fa woo her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the Rong attacked us?” (Juang 18.2)

1179. *Yan ney jy wu way jiau yee.* “/This/ states that the Interior had no /friendly/ relations with the Exterior.” (Juang 28.7)

1180. *Chyi buh yan Wei jy chian yan her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that Wei was transferred there?” (Shi 2.1)

1181. *Heryii buh yan gong jy ru Jinn?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the duke travelled to Jinn?” (Wen 2.3)

1182. *Yan gong jy bwu bey Ge-ling jy meng yee.* “/This/ means that the duke did not turn his back on the covenant at Ge-ling.” (Cherng 17.4)

1183. *Yan chyi yii guey cheu jy.* “/This/ means that his taking it accorded with his high rank.” (Jau 20.2)

1184. *Day jeng yueh ranhow yan sheng jy biann.* “It is only after the first month that mention is made of any vicissitudes of the sacrificial victim.” (Ai 1.4)

1185. *Sha Shaw bor Mau bor buh yan chyi her yee; leang shiah shiang sha yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not state the reason why /he/ killed the earl of Shaw and the earl of Mau is due to the fact that it concerned a fatal brawl between two subordinates.” (Shiuan 15.5; I suggest that the free sentence *tsyy her yee*, “What was the reason for this?” underlies the expression *buh yan chyi her yee*.)

1186. *Ran tzer herwey buh yan Suey ren jinn Chyi ren yee?* “If so, why does /the

- Chuenchiou/* not state that the men of Suey finished off the men from Chyi?" (Juang 17.2)
1187. *Yan chyi shanq shiah jy daw wu yii tswen yee.* "/This/ means that the proper relation between the ruler and his subordinates could no longer be preserved." (Cherng 12.1)
1188. *Yan gong bwu bey Ge-ling jy meng yee.* "/This/ means that the duke did not turn his back on the covenant at Ge-ling." (Cherng 17.8; cf. sentence 1182 above.)

5.4.2 The verbs *jiann*, "to see", and *shiann*, "to make appear", followed by predications as objects.

5.4.2.1 There are altogether two instances of this structure in the *Gongyang*, both of which are marked (2:1189–1190).

1189. *Wu jiann tzyy jy jiuntzyy yee.* "I see that you, Sir, are a gentleman." (Shiuan 15.2; this is a rare instance of a marked nominal predication functioning as object.)
1190. *Gongtzyy Shii-shyr jiann gongtzyy Fuh-chu jy dang juu yee.* "Prince Shii-shyr saw that prince Fuh-chu would be ruler." (Jau 20.2)

5.4.2.2 There are altogether 12 instances of this structure in the *Guuliang* (12:1191–1202), only one of which (1202) is unmarked.

1191. *Shiann Duann jy yeou twu jonq yee.* "/This was/ in order to make it appear that Duann had many followers." (Yiin 1.3)
1192. *Yonq jiann Luu jy buh chaur iu Jou erl Jenq jy bwu jih Tayshan yee.* "From /this passage/ it is evident that /the ruler of/ Luu no longer paid court visits to Jou and that /the ruler of/ Jenq no longer participated in the sacrifices on Mount Tay." (Hwan 1.4)
1193. *Her yonq shiann chyi wey yih tzai jy yu erl charng yee?* "How does it appear /from the wording of the next/ that the Autumnal sacrifice was performed in spite of the fact that the grain left over from the fire had not yet been exchanged?" (Hwan 14.5)
1194. *Bwu jyh, tzer wu yonq shiann gong jy eh shyh jy cherng yee.* "If /the duke's/ return had not been reported there would have been no means of revealing the full extent of the duke's evil undertakings." (Juang 6.3)
1195. *Her yonq shiann chyi jonq yee?* "How was it revealed that it was midnight?" (Juang 7.3)
1196. *Woo jiann chyi yeun erl jie iu dih jee, tzer shyh yeu shuo yee.* "When we see something that falls and hits the ground, then /we may use/ the expression 'it rains'." (Juang 7.3)
1197. *Heryii jiann chyi bih yaw meng yee?* "How do /we/ know that it (sc. the

Chuenchiou text) conceals the fact that /Luu/ requested a covenant?" (Juang 19.3)

1198. *Her yonq shiann chyi shyh Chyi hour yee?* "By what means is it revealed that he was the marquis of Chyi?" (Shi 1.2)
1199. *Buh shu tzer wu yonq shiann chyi buh tzuwu.* "If he were not treated as distant there would be no means of revealing that he did not belong to the category of men whose deaths were recorded /in the *Chuenchiou*./" (Shiuan 8.4)
1200. *Shiann Luu jy shy jenq yee.* "/This was recorded/ in order to reveal that Luu failed to follow the correct norm." (Shiang 8.4)
1201. *Buh yan tzai guh, tzer wu yii shiann chyi shann yee.* "If /the *Chuenchiou*/ had not stated /that the meeting was held/ on account of the fire /in Sonq/, there would have been no means of revealing their good intentions." (Shiang 30.9)
1202. *In tsyy yii shiann tiantzyy jyh yu shyh jie yeou miaw.* "This is evidence of the fact that all nobles, from the Son of Heaven down to the officers, all had ancestral temples." (Shi 15.11)

5.4.3 The verb *jy*, "to know", followed by predications as objects.

5.4.3.1 There are altogether 18 instances of this structure in the *Gongyang* (18:1203–1220), five of which (5:1216–1220) are unmarked.

1203. *Yiin iu shyh yan erl tsyr lih, tzer wey jy Hwan jy jiang bih der lih yee.* "If Yiin under these circumstances had rejected /their decision to/ establish him as ruler, then he would have had no reassurance that Hwan /at a later stage/ would be certain to be established as ruler." (Yiin 1.1)
1204. *Chuenchiou yeou ji fuh lao tzyy day tsorng jenq jee, tzer wey jy chyi tzay Chyi yu Tsaur yu?* "There are instances where the *Chuenchiou* criticizes the fact that a son replaces his aged father in matters of government, but it is not known whether /this criticism/ applies to /the heir of the marquis of/ Chyi or to /the heir of the earl of/ Tsaur? (Hwan 9.5)
1205. *Heryii jy yeh jy jonq?* "How was it known that it was midnight? (Juang 7.3)
1206. *Lii-keh jy chyi buh kee yeu mou.* "Lii-keh understood that he (sc. Shyun-shyi) would have no part in his plot." (Shi 10.3)
1207. *Wey cheng wang heryii jy chyi jyi wey?* "Since he had not yet been referred to as king, how is it known that he had acceded to the throne?" (Wen 9.1)
1208. *Yii juhaur jy yu nian jyi wey yih jy tiantzyy jy yu nian jyi wey yee.* "Since a feudal lord succeeds to the title in the year following that of the death /of his predecessor/ we also know that the Son of Heaven succeeds to the throne in the year following /that of the death of his predecessor./" (Wen 9.1)

1209. *Jy chyi buh kee erl wei jy yee.* “/They/ performed it even though /they/ knew that it was impermissible.” (Shiuan 8.6)
1210. *Gongtzyy Suey jy chyi buh kee yeu mou.* “Prince Suey knew that he (sc. Shwu-jonq Huey-bor) would have no part in his plot.” (Cherng 15.2)
1211. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Shiuan furen yu Cherng furen yu?* “It is not known, however, whether she was the spouse of /duke/ Shiuan, or of /duke/ Cherng.” (Shiang 2.7)
1212. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Luu gongtzyy yu Julih gongtzyy yu?* “It is not known, however, whether it was a prince of Luu, or a prince of Julih.” (Jau 31.6)
1213. *Tzer wey jy chyi wei Wu gong yu Yih gong yu?* “It is not known, however, whether she was /the spouse of/ duke Wu, or of duke Yih.” (Jau 31.6)
1214. *Juuren shyi chyi dwu erl wenn chyi juann, tzer wey jy jii jy yeou tzye yan eel.* “When the masters /of the state of Luu/ familiarized themselves with his writings and enquired into that which he had transmitted, they would be unaware of the fact that they themselves were blamed in it.” (Dinq 1.1)
1215. *Tzer wey jy chyi wey shyh yu?* “It is not known, however, whether it was for this purpose /that the Chuenchiou/ was /written/.” (Ai 14.1)
1216. *Shang gong jy Koong-fuu syy jii bih syy.* “Duke Shang knew that once Koong-fuu were dead he himself would have to die.” (Hwan 2.2)
1217. *Yii tiantzyy san nian ranhow cheng wang yih jy juhaur iu chyi feng ney san nian cheng tzyy yee.* “Since the Son of Heaven is referred to as king three years after /the death of his predecessor, we/ also know that a feudal lord within his own fief during a period of three years /following that of the death of his predecessor/ is referred to as ‘the Son’.” (Wen 9.1)
1218. *Tzer wey jy Chyi Jinn shwu yeou jy.* “It is not known, however, whether Chyi or Jinn would control it.” (Wen 14.8)
1219. *Tzer wey jy gongtzyy Shii-shyr tsornng yu, gongtzyy Fuh-chu tsornng yu?* “It is not known, however, whether prince Shii-shyr or prince Fuh-chu followed him.” (Jau 20.2)
1220. *Tzer wey jy Tsarnng shyh jy muu jee her wei jee yee.* “It is not known, however, to which /of these two categories/ the mother of /the head of/ the Tsarnng clan belonged.” (Jau 31.6)

5.4.3.2 There are altogether 17 instances of this structure in the *Guuliang*, all of which are marked (17:1221–1235).

1221. *Heryii jy chyi wei dih yee?* “How do /we/ know that he was the younger brother?” (Yiin 1.3)
1222. *Yii chyi muh jiun jy chyi wei dih yee.* “Since /the Chuenchiou/ indicates

both the state and the title of the ruler /we/ know that he was the younger brother.” (Yiin 1.3)

1223. *Jy chyi buh kee jy, jyh yee.* “To know that this cannot be known, that is /true/ knowledge.” (Yiin 3.1)
1224. *Heryii jy chyi shian sha Koong-fuu yee?* “How do /we/ know that he first killed Koong-fuu?” (Hwan 2.2)
1225. *Yii shyh jy jiun jy ley jy yee.* “Thereby /we/ know that the ruler implicated him.” (Hwan 2.2)
1226. *Tsay ren buh jy chyi shyh Chern jiun yee.* “The people of Tsay did not know that he was the ruler of Chern.” (Hwan 6.4)
1227. *Heryii jy chyi shyh Chern jiun yee.* “How do /we/ know that he was the ruler of Chern?” (Hwan 6.4)
1228. *Woo jy herng shin jy bwu shiann.* “We know that the fixed stars were not visible.” (Juang 7.3)
1229. *Heryii jy chyi yeh shyh yee?* “How do /we/ know that the eclipse occurred at night?” (Juang 18.1)
1230. *Hwan gong jy Shianq jy kee mieh yee erl buh jy jii jy buh kee yii mieh yee.* “Duke Hwan knew that Shianq may be extinguished, but did not know that he himself was not the one to extinguish it.” (Shi 17.2)
1231. *Heryii jy chyi yeu gong meng?* “How do /we/ know that he covenanted with the duke?” (Wen 2.3)
1232. *Shyh yii jy chyi shanq wei shyh yee.* “Thereby /we/ know that they prior /to this/ had engaged in the matter (sc. a rebellion).” (Cherng 9.11; my translation, which follows Fann Ning’s commentary, is highly tentative.)
1233. *Heryii jy gong jy buh jou hwu fa Jenq yee?* “How do /we/ know that the duke did not succour in the attack on Jenq?” (Cherng 17.4)
1234. *Heryii jy chyi meng fuh fa Jenq yee?* “How do /we/ know that their covenant concerned a second attack on Jenq?” (Cherng 17.4)
1235. *Shyh yee. Heryii jy chyi shyh yee?* “/He/ was an officer. How do /we/ know that he was an officer?” (Dinq 14.8; this is a rare instance of a marked nominal predication functioning as object.)

5.4.4 The verb *ji*, “to criticize”, followed by predications as objects.

5.4.4.1 There are altogether four instances of this structure in the *Gongyang* (4:1236–1239), two of which (1236–1237) are marked. The two unmarked predications are complex sentence forms.

1236. *Ji tzyy daw jy bwu jinn yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes /Jyy/ for not having fulfilled all his duties as a son.” (Jau 19.5)
1237. *Chyi ji tzyy daw jy bwu jinn nay her?* “Under what circumstances does /the *Chuenchiou*/ criticize /Jyy/ for not having fulfilled all his duties as a son?” (Jau 19.5)

1238. *Ji fuh lao tzyy day tsornq jenq yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the fact that, the father being old, the son acted for him in official matters.” (Hwan 5.3)
1239. *Chuenchiou yeou ji fuh lao tzyy day tsornq jenq jee.* “There are instances where the *Chuenchiou* criticizes the fact that a son replaces his aged father in matters of government.” (Hwan 9.4)

5.4.4.2 There is only one instance of this structure in the *Guuliang*, which is marked (1:1240).

1240. *Ji chyi how yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes him for postponing /the matter/.” (Wen 2.2)

5.4.5 The verb *in*, “to base oneself on”, followed by predications as objects.

5.4.5.1 The two instances of this structure in the *Gongyang* are both marked (2:1241–1242).

1241. *In chyi kee bau erl bau jy.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ bases itself on that which warranted praise and consequently praised him.” (Yiin 1.2)
1242. *Buh yeu way tao jee, in chyi tao hwu way erl buh yeu yee.* “The expression ‘/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow a punishment which is executed abroad’ signifies that /the *Chuenchiou*/ bases its disallowance on the fact that /the viscount of Chuu/ executed the punishment abroad.” (Shiuan 11.5)

5.4.5.2 The one instance of this structure in the *Guuliang* is marked (1:1243).

1243. *In cyi jiu erl wang jy yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ bases itself on the fact that /he/ resided /in Dyi-chyuan/ and treated him as the king.” (Jau 23.9; my translation of this passage is tentative.)

5.4.6 When followed by a predication as object the verbs *day*, “to wait until”, *huey*, “to avoid mentioning; to conceal”, and *dah*, “to magnify”, are found only in the *Gongyang*. The two predications following *day* (2:1244–1245), the one predication following *huey* (1:1246), and the nine predications following *dah* (9:1247–1255) are all marked.

1244. *Chiing day chyi wey bih jih erl ji jy.* “/I/ request leave to attack the enemy while they have not yet completed the crossing of the river.” (Shi 22.4)
1245. *Chiing day chyi wey bih chern erl ji jy.* “/I/ request leave to attack the enemy while they have not yet completed their battle formations.” (Shi 22.4)

1246. *Huey torng shinq jy mieh yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ conceals the fact that a state was extinguished by someone who wore the same clan name as that of the ruler of the extinguished state.” (Ai 8.1)
1247. *Dah chyi wey jong gwo juei yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that /the duke/ pursued /the Rong/ on behalf of the central states.” (Juang 18.2)
1248. *Dah chyi wey jyh erl yuh yuh yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that he warded /them/ off before they had arrived /in Luu/.” (Juang 18.2)
1249. *Dah Jih-tzyy jy huoh yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that Jih-tzyy captured /Na/.” (Shi 1.9)
1250. *Guh jiuntzyy dah chyi buh guu buh cheng lieh.* “Therefore the superior man made a great issue of the fact that he did not sound the drums /as a signal to attack an enemy/ who had not yet formed his formations.” (Shi 22.4)
1251. *Dah chyi fwu keh nah yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that they were unable to introduce /him/.” (Wen 14.8)
1252. *Guh jiuntzyy dah chyi fwu keh nah yee.* “Therefore the superior man magnifies the fact that they were unable to introduce /him/.” (Wen 14.8)
1253. *Dah chyi pyng hwu jii yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that they achieved peace among themselves.” (Shiuan 15.2; the Harvard-Yenching Index text mistakenly reads *yii*, “already”, for *jii*.)
1254. *Guh jiuntzyy dah chyi pyng hwu jii yee.* “Therefore the superior man magnifies the fact that they achieved peace among themselves.” (Shiuan 15.2)
1255. *Dah chyi buh fa sang yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ magnifies the fact that he did not attack a state which mourned /its late lord/.” (Shiang 19.8)

5.4.7 When followed by a predication as object the following verbs are found only in the *Guuliang*; all instances of predications functioning as objects to these verbs are marked: *jonq*, “to stress; to consider important” (3:1256–1258); *jiin*, “to exercise caution” (1:1259); *miin*, “to express grief over” (1:1260); *shann*, “to approve of” (2:1261–1262); *guey*, “to value” (3:1263–1265); *shii*, “to feel happy over” (1:1266); *show*, “to receive” (2:1267–1268); *cherng* “to give full expression to” (1:1269); *jeu*, “to raise; to bring forth for discussion” (2:1270–1271); *day*, “to consider endangered” (1:1272); *shiu*, “to wait until” (2:1273–1274); *ming*, “to make clear” (1:1275); *wuh*, “to condemn” (2:1276–1277); and *fei*, “to consider wrong; to condemn” (3:1278–1280).

1256. *Jonq chyi biann yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ stresses the fact that this extraordinary event occurred.” (Shi 14.3)
1257. *Jonq ren jy syy yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ stresses the fact that men may die.” (Shi 26.5)

1258. *Cherng Shee jy wei jiun suoo yii jonq Shang-ren jy shyh yee.* "Giving full expression to Shee's position of ruler is a means of aggravating the fact that Shang-ren assassinated him." (Wen 14.10)
1259. *Ryh Kuen jy tzwu, suoo yii jiin Shang-ren jy shyh yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ records the day of Kuen's death as a means of carefully noting the fact that Shang-ren assassinated him." (Wen 1.10)
1260. *Miin Jih jy wang yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ expresses grief over the destruction of Jih." (Juang 30.4)
1261. *Shann chyi liang lih erl faan yih yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ approves of the fact that they measured their strength and /eventually/ returned to righteousness." (Shiuan 15.2)
1262. *Shann chyi cherng jy.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ approves of the fact that they achieved this." (Jau 13.6)
1263. *Guey chyi yii dih faan yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it valuable that he returned with land." (Dinq 13.7)
1264. *Guey chyi yii dih faan.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it valuable that he returned with land." (Dinq 13.7)
1265. *Guey chyi shyr.* "It is considered of value that /the *Jiau* sacrifice/ be performed at the proper time." (Ai 1.4)
1266. *Jyh jiun jee day chyi wanq erl shii chyi faan.* "That the return of the ruler was reported was due to the fact that one had misgivings over his going away and felt happy over his return." (Shiang 29.2)
1267. *Kuayran show juhaur jy tzuen jii erl lih hwu chyi wey, shyh buh tzyy yee.* "Singularly he received the homage shown him by the feudal lords and occupied his (sc. the king's) throne. In so doing he did not act as a /true/ son." (Shi 5.5)
1268. *Shyhtzyy show juhaur jy tzuen jii erl tianwang tzuen yii.* "When the heir-son receives the homage of the feudal lords the King by Heaven's Grace will be honoured." (Shi 5.5)
1269. *Cherng Shee jy wei jiun suoo yii jonq Shang-ren jy shyh yee.* "Giving full expression to Shee's position of ruler is a means of aggravating the fact that Shang-ren assassinated him. (Wen 14.10)
1270. *Jeu chyi jie woo yee.* "/The *Chuenchiou*/ brings forth the fact that he /once/ had official contacts with us." (Wen 8.9)

1271. *Jeu chyi jie woo jee yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ brings forth the fact that he /once/ had official contacts with us.” (Shiang 21.2)
1272. *Jyh jiun jee day chyi wanq erl shii chyi faan.* “That the return of the ruler was reported was due to the fact that one had misgivings over his going away and felt happy over his return.” (Shiang 29.2)
1273. *Shiu chyi chu.* “/I/ shall wait until they have come out /of the river/. ” (Shi 22.4)
1274. *Shiu chyi cherng lieh erl how ji jy.* “/He/ waited until they had completed their battle formations and then attacked them.” (Shi 22.4)
1275. *Ming Chuu jy tao yeou tzuey yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ makes it clear that Chuu punished a guilty party.” (Shiuan 11.5)
1276. *Wuh chyi huey chyou chour erl fa torng shinq.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns him for holding a meeting with the enemy and for having attacked /a state whose ruler had/ the same clan name /as the ruler of Luu/. ” (Juang 3.1)
1277. *Wuh gongtzyy jy day.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns the prince for cheating.” (Shi 1.9)
1278. *Chu suey muu jee fei gong jy chiu h gongtyan erl leu muu, shyr cheu yih yee.* “In the entry ‘For the first time /the duke/ taxed the acres’ /the *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the duke for having abolished the system of the public field and for having introduced the system of measuring the land, taking one part out of ten in taxes.” (Shiuan 15.8)
1279. *Fei Chaur jy bwu shyh cherng erl chiing tzuey.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes /the inhabitants of/ Chaur for not having adorned the city walls and asked for the indulgence /of the visiting prince/. ” (Shiang 25.10)
1280. *Fei Wu tzyy jy tzyh ching yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the viscount of Wu for disregarding his own safety.” (Shiang 25.10)

5.4.8 When followed by a predication as object the verb *day*, “to wait until”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (2:1281–1282). Of the two instances of this construction one is marked (1281) and the other unmarked (1282).

1281. *Day chyi sha erl how ruh yee.* “/The marquis of Wei/ waited until they had killed /him/ and only thereafter entered.” (Shi 30.3)
1282. *Yu jy bih day chyi shyr chiong, ren lih jinn her yee?* “Why is it necessary to wait until the season has come to an end and until the strength of man has been exhausted before the rain sacrifice is performed?” (Dinq 1.6)

5.4.9 When followed by a predication as object the verb *jenq*, “to consider correct”, is found only in the *Guuliang* (24:1283–1304). Of the 24 instances of this structure only one (1:1304) is unmarked.

1283. *Bwu jenq chyi way jiau*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers them at fault for having relations abroad.” (Yiin 1.6; Juang 23.2)
1284. *Bwu jenq chyi cherng bay ren erl shen wei lih cheu ell yih*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it improper that he took advantage of the defeated enemy and sought to extend his own profit by the capture of two cities.” (Yiin 10.4)
1285. *Bwu jenq chyi in ren jy lih erl yih cheu jy*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it improper that he relied on the strength of others and thus captured the city with ease.” (Yiin 10.6)
1286. *Jenq Yeu-yi jy tzwu yee*. “/This/ is in order to make a correct entry of the death of Yeu-yi.” (Hwan 2.1)
1287. *Bwu jenq chyi yii tzungmiaw jy dahshyh jyi mou iu woo*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he approached and consulted us in a great matter pertaining to the ancestral temple.” (Hwan 8.6)
1288. *Jenq Jong-sheng jy tzwu yee*. “/This/ is in order to make a correct entry of the death of Jong-sheng.” (Hwan 10.1)
1289. *Bwu jenq chyi chin yng iu Chyi yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he met his bride in person in Chyi.” (Juang 24.3)
1290. *Bwu jenq chyi shyng fuh daw*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it improper that they performed a rite proper to women.” (Juang 24.6)
1291. *Bwu jenq chyi jie ney*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that they approached the interior directly.” (Juang 27.5; Shiuan 5.3)
1292. *Bwu jenq chyi yu gwo erl jyr yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect to transgress into another state and seize /Yuan Taur-twu/.” (Shi 4.5)
1293. *Bwu jenq chyi sha shyhtzyy Shen-sheng erl lih jy yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he killed Shen-sheng, the heir-son, and established him (sc. Shi-chyi) as ruler.” (Shi 9.6)
1294. *Bwu jenq chyi yii eh baw eh yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he requited evil with evil.” (Shi 23.1)
1295. *Bwu jenq chyi fa been erl mieh tornng shinq yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he attacked /his own/ origin and extinguished /a state whose ruler had/ the same clan name /as himself/.” (Shi 25.1)
1296. *Bwu jenq chyi shinn Yi Dyi erl fa jong gwo yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he trusted the Yi and the Dyi barbarians and attacked a central state.” (Shi 27.5)
1297. *Bwu jenq chyi shyh binn erl juu hwu jann yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he discontinued the *binn* ceremony /for his late father/ in order to take command /of the army/ in a war.” (Shi 33.3)

1298. *Bwu jenq chyi tzay cheu.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he took a city a second time.” (Wen 7.2)
1299. *Bwu jenq chyi torng luen erl shiang jieh.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that they /both/ belonged to the same class and yet assisted one another.” (Wen 18.5)
1300. *Bwu jenq chyi bay chyan shyh.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he was defeated on the previous occasion.” (Shiuan 6.1)
1301. *Bwu jenq chyi yeu Yi Dyi jiau fa jong gwo.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he allied himself with the Yi and Dyi barbarians and attacked a central state.” (Jau 12.10)
1302. *Bwu jenq chyi jyr ren iu tzuen jee jy suoo yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that he seized a man at the court of the venerated /king/.” (Dinq 1.2)
1303. *Bwu jenq chyi ruenn yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect that they included the intercalary month /in the mourning period/.” (Ai 5.6)
1304. *Bwu jenq fuh tzay tzyy day shyh jy tsyr yee.* “/This/ is an expression indicating that /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers it incorrect for the son to act for his father while his father is alive.” (Hwan 5.3)

5.5 Included predications as objects of prepositions

5.5.1 In the *Gongyang* the preposition GS 55a *g'o (g'âg)/hwu* may be followed by both marked and unmarked predications. Of the 10 predications following the expression *her yan hwu*, “what need was there to state” (10:1305–1314), two are marked (1305–1306), and eight unmarked (1307–1314). The remaining nine instances of predications following *hwu* are all marked (9:1315–1323). There are no corresponding structures in the *Guuliang*.

1305. *Her yan hwu Jiang Rong jy uei?* “What need was there to state that the Jiang Rong were insignificant?” (Shi 33.3)
1306. *Her yan hwu Gau Guh jy lai?* “What need was there to state that Gau Guh arrived?” (Shiuan 5.5)
1307. *Her yan hwu tzyy Torng sheng?* “What need was there to state that the son Torng was born?” (Hwan 6.5)
1308. *Her yan hwu Chyi ren jyr jy?* “What need was there to state that men of Chyi seized him?” (Juang 17.1)
1309. *Her yan hwu gong yeou jyi bwu shyh shuoh?* “What need was there to state that the duke failed to observe the *shuoh* ceremony due to illness?” (Wen 16.2)
1310. *Her yan hwu Cherng Jou shiuan shieh tzai?* “What need was there to state that the archery court of /king/ Shiuan at Cherng Jou was visited by fire?” (Shiuan 16.2)

1311. *Her yan hwu shinn tzay dahfu?* "What need was there to state that the trust rested with the great officers." (Shiang 16.2)
1312. *Her yan hwu gong tzay Chuu?* "What need was there to state that the duke was in Chuu?" (Shiang 29.1)
1313. *Her yan hwu wang shyh luann?* "What need was there to state that the Royal house was in disorder?" (Jau 22.7)
1314. *Her yan hwu gong yeou jyi nae fuh?* "What need was there to state that the duke fell ill and then returned?" (Jau 23.12)
1315. *Moh jonq hwu chyi yeu chour show yee.* "Nothing could warrant a more severe criticism than the fact that he hunted with his enemy." (Juang 4.7)
1316. *Moh jonq hwu chyi yii sang jyh yee.* "Nothing could be graver than the fact that her dead body arrived /from Chyi/." (Shi 1.10)
1317. *Tong hwu Jih-tzyy jy sy shyng yee.* "/This was/ in order to make it clearly understood that Jih-tzyy went /to Chern/ on a private journey." (Juang 27.3)
1318. *Her dah hwu Jih-tzyy jy huoh?* "What need was there to magnify the fact that Jih-tzyy captured /Na/?" (Shi 1.9)
1319. *Her dah hwu chyi fwu keh nah?* "What need was there to magnify the fact that they were unable to introduce him?" (Wen 14.8)
1320. *Her dah hwu chyi pyng hwu jii?* "What need was there to magnify the fact that peace was achieved among themselves?" (Shiuan 15.2)
1321. *Tzer her dah hwu chyi buh fa sang?* "Then what need was there to magnify the fact that he did not attack a state which was in mourning?" (Shiang 19.8)
1322. *Her juh hwu Jau jy yeou tzuey?* "What need was there to make manifest the fact that Jau was guilty?" (Jau 1.2)
1323. *Her huey hwu torng shinq jy mieh?* "What need was there to conceal the fact that a state, whose ruler had the same clan name /as the duke of Sonq/ was extinguished?" (Ai 8.1)

5.5.2 In the *Gongyang* there are altogether six instances of marked predications serving as objects to the preposition GS 613 *·io* (*·iag*)/*iu* (6:1324–1327).

1324. *Iu chyi chu yan shyy gongtzyy Pern-sheng sonq jy.* "When /the duke/ left /the marquis of Chyi/ ordered prince Pern-sheng to escort him." (Juang 1.2)
1325. *Iu chyi cherng yan shyg gann erl sha jy.* "When /the duke/ was about to mount his chariot /Pern-sheng/ broke his back-bone and killed him." (Juang 1.2; Dinq 8.16)
1326. *Niann muu jee suoo shann yee, tzer herwey iu chyi niann muu yan bean?* "To think of one's mother is something of which /the *Chuenchiou*/

aproves. Why, then, does /the *Chuenchiou*/ censure /her/ in this context, where /duke Juang/ is said to think of his mother?" (Juang 1.2)

1327. *Ran tzer herwey buh iu chyi shyh yan bean?* "If this is so, why, then, does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not censure him in the context of the assassination?" (Shiuan 8.4; Jau 1.2)

5.5.3 In the *Guuliang* there is one instance of a marked predication functioning as object to the preposition *iu* (1:1328).

1328. *Iu tiantzyy jy beng wei Luu juu.* "On the occasion of the death of the Son of Heaven /he/ acted as host for /the duke of/ Luu." (Yiin 3.3)

6.0 Coordination of nominal expressions. Coordination of nominal expressions may be additive or appositive. Appositive coordination is always unmarked. Additive coordination may be unmarked, or marked by one of the forms GS 89b *zjo* (*ziag*)/*yeu*, "and", or GS 681a *g'iap/jyi*, "and".

6.1 The coordinating marker *yeu*, "and"

6.1.1 The following selected examples illustrate the function of the coordinating marker *yeu* in the *Gongyang* (1329–1338).

1329. *Wu yeu Jenq ren moh yeou cherng yee.* "Between us and the men of Jenq there was not yet peace." (Yiin 6.1)
1330. *Nan Yi yeu beei Dyi jiau, jong gwo buh jyue ruoh shiann.* "If the southern Yi and the northern Dyi were to join forces /the fate of/ the central states would be precarious. (Shi 4.4)
1331. *Sonq gong yeu Chuu tzyy chyi yii shenq ju jy huey.* "The duke of Sonq and the viscount of Chuu had agreed on an unarmed meeting." (Shi 21.6)
1332. *Sonq gong yeu Chuu ren chyi jann yu Horng jy yang.* "The duke of Sonq and the men from Chuu had agreed to a battle on the northern bank of the river Horng." (Shi 22.4)
1333. *Bor-lii tzyy yeu Jean-shu tzyy jiann iue:* "Bor-lii tzyy and Jean-shu tzyy remonstrated, saying:" (Shi 33.3)
1334. *Ran erl Jinn ren yeu Jiang Rong iau jy Shyau erl ji jy.* "However, the men from Jinn and the Jiang Rong invited them to battle at Shyau and defeated them there." (Shi 33.3)
1335. *Furen yeu gong yih tii yee.* "The spouse and the duke are one body." (Miin 1.3)
1336. *Jinn Shih-keh yeu Tsanq-suen Sheu torng shyrl erl pinn yu Chyi.* "Shih-keh of Jinn and Tsanq-suen Sheu at the same time paid a courtesy visit to Chyi." (Cherng 2.4)
1337. *Wei Ning Jyr yeu Suen Lin-fuu jwu Wei hour erl lih Gong-suen Piaw.* " (Shiang 27.4)

1338. *Menq shyh yeu Shwu-suen shyh dye erl syh jy*. "The Menq clan and the Shwu-suen clan took turns and provided him with food." (Dinq 8.16)

6.1.2 The following selected examples illustrate the function of the coordinating marker *yeu* in the *Guuliang* (1339–1347).

1339. *Lii-keh shyh ell jiun yeu yi dahfu*. "Lii-keh had assassinated two princes and one great officer." (Shi 10.5)
1340. *Bor-lii tzyy yeu Jean-shwu tzyy jiann iue*: "Bor-lii tzyy and Jean-shwu tzyy remonstrated, saying:" (Shi 33.3)
1341. *Wu yeu ruu wey yeou guoh chieh*. "You and I have always gone on well together." (Shi 10.5)
1342. *Bor-lii tzyy yeu Jean-shwu tzyy song chyi tzyy erl jieh jy iue*: "Bor-lii tzyy and Jean-shwu tzyy saw their sons off and warned them saying:" (Shi 33.3)
1343. *Yan Jou yii jonq yeu dah yan jy yee*. "When speaking of Jou it must be referred to in terms denoting multitude and greatness." (Wen 9.3)
1344. *Huey yeu meng torng yueh, tzer dih huey, bwu dih meng*. "When a meeting and a covenant take place in the same month, the place is indicated for the meeting, but not for the covenant." (Cherng 2.10)
1345. *Jong gwo yeu Yi Dyi buh yan jann*. "In the case of a conflict between a central state and the Yi and Dyi barbarians /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not use the term *jann* ('war')." "
1346. *Jong gwo yeu Yi Dyi yih iue bay*. "In the case of /a war between/ a central state and the Yi and Dyi barbarians /the *Chuenchiou*/ also uses the term defeat." (Jau 17.6)
1347. *Tiantzyy jy tzay jee wei jih yeu haw*. "All that remained of the /prerogatives of the/ Son of Heaven were /his function at/ sacrifices and his title." (Jau 32.5)

6.2 The following examples illustrate the function of the coordinating marker *jyi* in the *Guuliang* (1348–1349).

1348. *Kee yan gong jyi ren, buh kee yan gong jyi dahfu*. "It is permissible to use the phrase 'the duke and a man'; it is impermissible to use the phrase 'the duke and a great officer'." (Yiin 8.8)
1349. *Shu tzuen jyi bei Chuenchiou jy yih yee*. "To record /first the person of/ noble rank and /then the person of/ mean rank is the code of the *Chuenchiou*." (Hwan 2.2)

6.3 Unmarked coordination of nominal expressions

6.3.1 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked appositive

coordination (1350–1351) and unmarked additive coordination (1352–1364) of nominal expressions in the *Gongyang*.

1350. *Miou gong jwu chyi ell tzyy Juang gong Pyng yeu tzuoo-shy Bwo*. “Duke Miou expelled his two sons, Pyng /who later became/ duke Juang and Bwo, who held the office of *tzuo-shy*.” (Yiin 3.7)
1351. *Wu leang jiun buh shiang haw bae shinq her tzuoy?* “What crime is that of the people that we two rulers cannot get on together?” (Shiuan 12.3)
1352. *Fenq jee gay yii maa, yii shenq maa shwu bor*. “Such funeral gifts actually consisted of horses, of teams of horses and bundles of silk.” (Yiin 1.4)
1353. *Cheng ju fuhshiong shy yeou*. “Reference was made to the paternal uncles, elder brothers, teachers and friends.” (Yiin 2.5)
1354. *In Sonq ren, Tsay ren, Wei ren jy lih yee*. “/He/ relied on the strength of the men from Sonq, the men from Tsay, and the men from Wei.” (Yiin 10.6)
1355. *Yii wei wu chern tzyy yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers /that unless this had been done/ there were no /true/ subjects and sons.” (Yiin 11.4)
1356. *Chyou-muh Shyun-shyi jie ley yee*. “Chyou-muh and Shyun-shyi were both implicated /and died for their lords/.” (Hwan 2.2)
1357. *Chuenchiou bor, tzyy, nan yih yee*. “The *Chuenchiou* treats the ranks of earl, baron and viscount as equal.” (Hwan 11.6)
1358. *Der Jih hour, Jenq bor ranhow neng wei ryh yee*. “/The duke/ could not fix the day /for the battle/ until he had won over the marquis of Jih and the earl of Jenq.” (Hwan 13.1)
1359. *Gongtzyy Chinq-fuu, gongtzyy Ya, gongtzyy Yeou jie Juang gong jy muudih yee*. “Prince Chinq-fuu, prince Ya and prince Yeou were all younger brothers by the same mother as duke Juang.” (Juang 27.3)
1360. *Buh jau erl jyh jee Jiang ren Hwang ren yee*. “Those who came without having been summoned were the men of Jiang and the men of Hwang.” (Shi 9.4)
1361. *Shi-chyi Juo-tzyy jee, Li-ji jy tzyy yee*. “Shi-chyi and Juo-tzyy were the sons of Li-ji.” (Shi 10.5)
1362. *Lii-keh shyh Shi-chyi Juo-tzyy*. “Lii-keh assassinated Shi-chyi and Juo-tzyy.” (Shi 10.5)
1363. *Sy, yih, huh, yanq, syy jee shuh bae ren*. “The casualties among the service corps, grooms and cooks counted several hundred men.” (Shiuan 12.3)
1364. *Guu jee shanq ching, shiah ching, shanq shyh, shiah shyh*. “In the old times there were /only/ ministers of higher and lower rank and officers of higher and lower rank.” (Shiang 11.1)

6.3.2 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked appositive coordination (1365–1367) and unmarked additive coordination (1368–1375) of nominal expressions in the *Guuliang*.

1365. *Sha shyhtzyy muudih muh jiun*. “The state and the title are given for a ruler who has killed the heir-son and younger brother by the same mother /as himself/.” (Yiin 1.3)
1366. *Yeou ruoh Chinq-feng shyh chyi jiun jee hwu?* “Is there anyone /here/ like Chinq-feng, who assassinated his ruler?” (Jau 4.3)
1367. *Yeou ruoh Chuu gongtzyy Wei shyh chyi shiong jy tzyy erl day jy wei jiun jee hwu?* “Is there anyone /here/ like prince Wei of Chuu, who assassinated the son of his elder brother and took his place as ruler?” (Jau 4.3)
1368. *Pinn gong how shyy buh chu jinq charng*. “Bows used on missions of friendly enquiries and arrows with a metal head and trimmed feathers do not travel outside the borders /of the state/.” (Yiin 1.6)
1369. *Gwo fei wu liang nong gong neu yee*. “It was not that the state lacked skilled farmers and handy women.” (Hwan 14.5)
1370. *Shyh Chyi hour Sonq gong yee*. “These /men/ were the marquis of Chyi and the duke of Sonq.” (Juang 5.4)
1371. *Gongtzyy Jeou, gongtzyy Sheau-bor buh neng tswen, chu wang*. “Prince Jeou and prince Sheau-bor were unable to remain and left in exile.” (Juang 9.4)
1372. *Nan tzyy jy jyh, gau, yann, jyh, jiu. Fuhren jy jyh, tzao, lih, duann, shiou*. “The ceremonial gifts of a man comprise lambs, wild geese, pheasants and dried meat of pheasants. The ceremonial gifts of a woman comprise dates, chestnuts and slices of dried and spiced meat.” (Juang 24.6)
1373. *Chiu chaan jy shenq, Chwei-jyi jy bih*. “The team of Chiu horses and the jade *bih* from Chwei-jyi.” (Shi 2.3)
1374. *Guoh Sonq, Jenq, Terng, Shiue*. “/He/ passed through the states of Sonq, Jenq, Terng and Shiue.” (Wen 14.8)
1375. *Gong dahfu tzay shy iue shy*. “When the duke and /his great officers are in the army /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the army.” (Cherng 13.4)

7.0 Coordination of negatable expressions may be additive or alternative. Alternative coordination is always unmarked. Additive coordination may be unmarked, or marked by one of the forms GS 982a *ñiæg/erl*, GS 995a *giüg/yow*, and GS 46a *ts'já (ts'jäg)/chiee*.

7.1 The coordinating marker *erl*

7.1.1 The following selected examples illustrate the function of the coordinating marker *erl* in the *Gongyang* (1376–1390).

1376. *Yiin shyan erl Hwan jiann yee.* “/Duke/ Yiin was worthy and /duke/ Hwan was mean.” (Hwan 2.4)
1377. *Jiun ruoh yonq chern jy mou, tzer jin ryh cheu Guo erl ming ryh cheu Yu eel.* “If you, my lord, employ my scheme, then we shall take Guo today and Yu tomorrow.” (Shi 2.3)
1378. *Hwan gong jiow jong gwo erl rang Yi Dyi.* “Duke Hwan rescued the central states and expelled the Yi and the Dyi barbarians.” (Shi 4.4)
1379. *Jiun sha jenq erl lih bwu jenq, fey jaang erl lih yow.* “The /late/ ruler killed the rightful heir and appointed a wrong person in his stead; he discarded the older and established the younger /in his stead/.” (Shi 10.3)
1380. *Chuu Yi gwo yee, chyang erl wu yih.* “Chuu is a barbarian state /and its ruler/ is fierce and without righteousness.” (Shi 21.6)
1381. *Chuenchiou tzyr farn erl bwu shay jee jenq yee.* “When the *Chuenchiou* gives an account which is detailed and without omissions, this indicates correctness.” (Shi 22.4)
1382. *Jaw Jaw Duenn erl syh jy.* “/Duke Ling/ summoned Jaw Duenn and treated him to a meal.” (Shiuan 6.1)
1383. *Aur yih chwu jie erl tsornj jy.* “The dog also jumped down the steps and followed him.” (Shiuan 6.1)
1384. *Yih tzyy erl shyr jy, xi hair erl chuei jy.* “We exchange our children and eat them! We break their bones and cook them!” (Shiuan 15.2)
1385. *Tzyy chiuw woo erl guei, wu shwu yeu chuu yu tsyy?* “If you leave me and return, with whom shall I remain here?” (Shiuan 15.2)
1386. *Herwey shian yan jiow erl how yan tsyh?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ first use the expression *jiow* (‘to rescue’) and thereafter the expression *tsyh* (‘to halt’)?” (Shiang 23.9)
1387. *Jyy jinn yaw erl yaw sha yee.* “Jyy presented the medicine and the medicine killed /his father/.” (Jau 19.5)
1388. *Shiu yow erl jie ay jy. Shyr bih tzuoh ell tzyy iu chyi tseh erl syh jy.* “Shiu was the younger and /his parents/ both loved him. When they had their meals they always seated their two sons next to themselves and fed them.” (Jau 31.6)
1389. *Ren wey tzwu erl Shiu yeou yu!* “I am not yet satisfied, but Shiu has had more than enough!” (Jau 31.6)
1390. *Yeu jy yuh jye erl tzoou jy.* “/He/ gave him a jade token and sent him off in a hurry.” (Ai 6.8)

7.1.2 The following selected examples illustrate the function of the coordinating marker *erl* in the *Guuliang* (1391–1406).

1391. *Chuenchiou guey yih erl bwu guey huey, shinn daw erl bwu shinn shye.* “The *Chuenchiou* values righteousness and does not value /mere

- expressions of/ favour. /It/ seeks to extend the correct principles and does not seek to extend the corrupt ones.” (Yiin 1.1)
1392. *Jiann Duann erl shenn Jenq bor yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ represents Duann as mean and /at the same time/ aggravates /the crime of/ the earl of Jenq.” (Yiin 1.3)
1393. *Chuenchiou jy yih, juh hour yeu jenq erl buh yeu shyan yee.* “According to the doctrine of the *Chuenchiou* the status of feudal lord was granted to the proper heir and not to the /one whose moral qualifications made him more/ worthy.” (Yiin 4.7)
1394. *Yonq shiann Luu jy buh chaur iu Jou erl Jenq jy bwu jih Tayshan yee.* “From this passage it is evident that /the ruler of/ Luu no longer paid court visits to Jou and that /the ruler of/ Jenq no longer participated in the sacrifices on Mount Tay.” (Hwan 1.4)
1395. *Guh uei chyi jiun chern erl juh chyi fuh tzyy.* “Therefore /the *Chuenchiou* uses a terminology which/ places less stress on the relation between ruler and subject /while it at the same time/ stresses the relation between father and son.” (Hwan 5.3)
1396. *Guh yeou tsyr ranq erl wu jeng chyou.* “Therefore there were deference and yielding, but there were no summons and no requests.” (Hwan 15.1)
1397. *Wuh chyi huey chyou chour erl fa torng shinq.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns him for having a meeting with the enemy and for having attacked /a state whose ruler had/ the same clan name /as the ruler of Luu/.” (Juang 3.1)
1398. *Woo jy herng shing jy bwu shiann erl buh jy chyi yeun yee.* “We knew that the fixed stars were not visible and /consequently/ we had no means of ascertaining that they fell.” (Juang 7.3)
1399. *Yuh jiow Jang erl buh neng yee.* “/The duke/ wanted to go to the rescue of Jang, but was unable to do so.” (Juang 30.2)
1400. *Ru show wu bih erl jieh wu daw, tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarnq jy way fuu, cheu jy jong jiow erl jyh jy way jiow yee.* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents and grants us the right of transit, then that would mean that we remove our treasures from an inner treasury and deposit them in a treasury outside our state, and that we transfer the horses from an inner stable to an outer stable.” (Shi 2.3)
1401. *Gong suey jieh daw erl fa Guo.* “The duke /of Jinn/ then borrowed a way /through Yu/ and attacked Guo.” (Shi 2.3)
1402. *Jiun tyan erl bwu tzay.* “/At the time/ the lord was hunting and was not present /at the court/.” (Shi 10.5)
1403. *Wu beng daw erl beng.* “It is not in the nature /of mountains/ to collapse and yet it collapsed.” (Shi 14.3)
1404. *Iue Dong wuh jy erl bean jy yee.* “By referring to /him as/ Dong /the *Chuenchiou*/ condemns and censures him.” (Jau 21.6)

1405. *Wu shinn jong gwo erl rang Yi Dyi*. "Wu had faith in the central states and repelled the Yi and the Dy barbarians." (Dinq 4.14)
1406. *Jiun jiu chyi jiun jy chiin erl chi chyi jiun jy chi; dahfu jiu chyi dahfu jy chiin erl chi chyi dahfu jy chi*. "A prince resides in his princely mansion and marries a wife who matches his position; a great officer resides in his great officer's mansion and marries a wife who matches his position." (Dinq 4.16)

7.2 The coordinating marker *yow*

7.2.1 The coordinating marker *yow* is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:1407).

1407. *Yiin jaang yow shyan*. "Yiin was grown-up and besides a worthy man." (Yiin 1.1)

7.2.2 The coordinating marker *yow* is found twice in the *Guuliang* (2:1408–1409).

1408. *Gong Jy-chyi jy wei ren yee, dar shin erl nuoh, yow shao jaang iu jiun*. "As to his character Gong Jy-chyi is intelligent and weak. And besides he is but slightly older than the duke." (Shi 2.3)
1409. *Juhour meng yow dahfu shiang yeu sy meng*. "The feudal lords covenanted and besides the great officers concluded a private covenant among themselves." (Shiang 3.7)

7.3 The coordinating marker *chiee*

7.3.1 The one *Gongyang* occurrence of *chiee* as a marker of coordination obtains in a quote from the *Chuenchiou* (1:1410).

1410. *Chyi yan guei harn chiee fenq her?* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ state that /he/ returned with /funeral gifts consisting of/ mouth jewels and carriages and horses?" (Wen 5.1)

7.3.2 There are two occurrences of the coordinating marker *chiee* in the *Guuliang* (2:1411–1412).

1411. *Chiee ann chiee long, wu yii shiang tong*. "When /one party/ is silent and /the other party/ deaf there is no means of communication between the two." (Wen 6.7)
1412. *Chyi tsyr gong chiee ai*. "The expression /used by the *Chuenchiou* conveys/ both respect and grief." (Cherng 3.4)

7.4 Unmarked additive coordination of negatable expressions

7.4.1 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked additive coordination of negatable expressions in the *Gongyang* (1413–1422).

1413. *Juhour jih tzwu jih tzanq*. “In the case of feudal lords /the *Chuenchiou*/ records the death and the burial.” (Yiin 3.2)
1414. *Juhour yueh jinq songq neu fei lii yee*. “For a feudal lord to escort a daughter across the border /of his state/ is not in accordance with the rites.” (Hwan 3.6)
1415. *Jay-jonq buh tsornq chyi yan tzer jiun bih syy, gwo bih wang*. “If Jay-jonq refused to obey his command, then /his/ lord would be bound to die and the state /of Jenq/ would be bound to perish.” (Hwan 11.4)
1416. *Fuh guei jee, chu eh, guei wu eh*. “The term *fuh guei* implies that evil attached to his leaving the state and that no evil attached to his return.” (Hwan 15.5)
1417. *Yu gong baw bao chian maa erl jyh*. “The duke of Yu arrived, carrying the treasures and leading the horses.” (Shi 2.3)
1418. *Hwan gong charng yeou jih jyue tswen wang jy gong*. “Duke Hwan had once established the merit of preserving states which were doomed to destruction and of continuing states which were doomed to be cut off.” (Shi 17.2)
1419. *Eel wei ren wei yih*. “You are the most benevolent and righteous (among men).” (Shiuan 6.1)
1420. *Jaw Duenn chii jiang jinn jiann*. “Jaw Duenn rose and was about to present /his/ sword /to the lord/.” (Shiuan 6.1)
1421. *Guu jee yu buh chuan, pyi bwu duh, tzer bu chu syh fang*. “In the days of old one did not travel in the four directions unless one’s bowls were pierced /and destroyed/ and one’s furs were eaten by grubs.” (Shiuan 12.3)
1422. *Chyi hour guei, diaw syy, shyh jyi. Chi nian buh yiin jeou, buh shy row*. “The marquis of Chyi returned, condoled the dead and visited the sick. For a period of seven years he did not drink wine, nor did he eat any meat.” (Cherng 8.1)

7.4.2 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked additive coordination of negatable expressions in the *Guuliang* (1423–1433).

1423. *Juhour shiang fa cheu dih iu shyh shyy*. “This was the first instance of feudal lords attacking one another and taking land from one another.” (Yiin 4.1)
1424. *Jianq bei shy jonq iue shy*. “When the commander had low rank and the troops were numerous /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to the army.” (Yiin 5.3)
1425. *Baw ren min, chiu niou maa iue chin; jaan shuh muh, huay gong shyh iue fa*. “To oppress the people and to drive away their cattle and horses is

called *chin* ('to invade'); to destroy trees and to demolish palaces and houses is called *fa* ('to attack')." (Yiin 5.9)

1426. *Min jonq cherng sheau tzer yih cherng*. "When the population is large and the city is small, then one makes the city larger." (Yiin 7.3)
1427. *Sheng fwu jy, syy shyng jy, lii yee*. "To confer /distinctions/ on a living person and /actually/ execute the conferment after his death is in accordance with the rites." (Juang 1.6)
1428. *Lii, tiantzyy jy jyue, jwo jy, long jy, jia mih shyr yan*. In accordance with the rites, in the case of the rafters /of the temple/ of the Son of Heaven, one hewed them, made them smooth and applied the whetstone to them." (Juang 24.1)
1429. *Jau wang nan jeng buh faan*. "King Jau went on an expedition to the south and did not return." (Shi 4.4)
1430. *Chuu jonq woo shao*. "/The army of/ Chuu is numerous and we are few." (Shi 22.4)
1431. *Jiuntzyy buh tuei ren uei, buh gong ren eh*. "A superior man does not protract the dangers of others, and does not attack those who are in difficulty." (Shi 22.4)
1432. *Jiang yeuan, Chuu jinn*. "Jiang was situated far away and Chuu was close." (Wen 3.7)
1433. *Chyi shyr chyong, ren lih jinn, ranhow yu*. "When the season has come to an end and when the strength of man has been exhausted, thereafter one performs the rain sacrifice." (Dinq 1.6)

7.5 Unmarked alternative coordination of negatable expressions

7.5.1 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked alternative coordination of negatable expressions in the *Gongyang* (1434–1435).

1434. *Tzuey dinq bwu dinq yii kee jy yii*. "It was already possible to know whether /the extent of his/ crime had been determined or not." (Shi 28.19)
1435. *Tzuey dinq bwu dinq wey kee jy yee*. "It was not yet possible to know whether /the extent of his/ crime had been determined or not?" (Shi 28.19)

7.5.2 The following selected examples illustrate unmarked alternative coordination in the *Guuliang* (1436–1438).

1436. *Chyou jy wei yan, der buh der wey kee jy jy tsyr yee*. "The term *chyou* ('to request') is an expression indicating that the ultimate outcome, whether positive or negative, cannot yet be known." (Yiin 3.4)
1437. *Yi Dyi buh yan jenq bwu jenq*. "With regard to the Yi and Dyi barbarians /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not state whether /a deceased ruler had been/ the proper heir /to the title/ or an usurper." (Wen 1.10)

1438. *Ryh erl buh yan jenq bwu jenq, jean jy yee.* "In indicating the day /of the death of the viscount of Chuu/ without stating whether he had been a rightful heir or an usurper /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives a summary account." (Shiuan 18.5)

8.0 Subordination. The corpus includes all nominal expressions containing the noun *tsyr*, "word; expression", preceded by marked and unmarked attributes.

8.1 Attributes may be marked by the subordinating particle GS 962a *tjæg/jy*.

8.1.1 There are 16 instances of marked attribution in the *Gongyang* (16:1439–1453). The marked attributes consist of (a) a predication or a complex sentence form (1439–1441); (b) a verb-object expression (1442–1451); or (c) a nominal phrase (1452–1453).

1439. *Jiun sha dahfu jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression implying that the ruler killed a great officer." (Shi 7.3)
1440. *Jiun bwu huey dahfu jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression implying that a feudal lord did not hold meetings with a great officer." (Shiuan 1.12)
1441. *Fuh syy tzyy jih, shiong syy dih jyi jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression implying that a son accedes when his father dies and that a younger brother accedes when his elder brother dies." (Jau 22.10)
1442. *Tao tzeir jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression indicating that an assassin was punished." (Yiin 4.6)
1443. *Meei dah jy jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression indicating that /the duke/ found it excellent and great." (Yiin 5.1)
1444. *Yeou gu jy tsyr yee.* "(/This/ is an expression indicating that /she/ had a paternal aunt." (Shi 25.3)
1445. *Luh Bor Ji jy tsyr* "an expression commemorating the eldest daughter /of Luu/" (Cherng 10.4)
1446. *Way ney jy tsyr* "an expression indicating that the Interior is treated as /belonging to/ the Exterior" (Cherng 15.12)
1447. *Cheu yih jy tsyr* "an expression indicating the taking of a city" (Shiang 12.1)
1448. *Fei cheu yih jy tsyr* "an expression indicating that /the *Chuenchiou*/ condemns the taking of cities" (Shiang 12.1)
1449. *Dang gwo jy tsyr* "an expression implying the arrogation of the authority in the state" (Ai 6.8)
1450. *Huey leang bor jy tsyr* "an expression indicating that /the duke/ met with two overlords" (Ai 13.3)
1451. *Jonq dah jy tsyr* "an expression denoting that it contained a multitude and was great" (Hwan 9.1)

1452. *Yeuan gwo jy tsyr yee*. “/This/ is an expression used of distant states.” (Shi 2.4)
1453. *Jah jann jy tsyr* “an expression denoting a battle the time and place of which had not been agreed upon beforehand.” (Jau 23.8)

8.1.2 There are 41 instances of marked attribution in the *Guuliang* (41:1454–1494). The marked attributes consist of (a) a predication (1454–1456); (b) a verb-object expression (1457–1476); (c) other verb phrases (1477–1488), and (d) a nominal phrase (1489–1492).

1454. *Chyi shiah jyr jy jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that his subordinates seized him” (Shi 5.9)
1455. *Chyi bwu tzanq jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /he/ had not been buried” (Wen 9.4; it is interesting to note that *chyí* functions as a marked subject of the included clause.)
1456. *Shyh wey bih jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that the matter had not yet been concluded” (Shiang 19.8)
1457. *Buh cherng shyh jy tsyr* “an expression denoting an unaccomplished event” (Hwan 2.4)
1458. *Yeou jih jy tsyr* “an expression denoting continuation” (Hwan 3.4)
1459. *Bwu jenq fuh tzay tzyy day shyh jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /the Chuenchiou/ considers it incorrect for the son to act for his father while the father is alive” (Hwan 5.3)
1460. *Jih shyh jy tsyr* “an expression denoting the continuation of an event” (Hwan 8.6)
1461. *Buh yi yih ren jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that no single person was left /in Jih/” (Juang 4.4)
1462. *Wu Suey jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /the state of/ Suey had ceased to exist” (Juang 17.2)
1463. *Wu shyh jy tsyr* “an expression used of unofficial matters” (Juang 23.3)
1464. *Yeou guh jy tsyr* “an expression indicating retrospection” (Juang 28.6)
1465. *Lih chieh jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that /he/ established /his/ concubine /as consort/” (Shi 8.4)
1466. *Ley shanq jy tsyr* “an expression implicating the ruler” (Shi 10.5)
1467. *Yuan gu yan jy jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /she/ is /here/ spoken of in terms used by /her/ mother-in-law” (Shi 25.3)
1468. *Wu jiun jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that there was no ruler” (Wen 8.8)
1469. *Jyr bay yih ren jy tsyr* “an expression denoting the defeat of a single man” (Wen 11.6)
1470. *Jeu tzuw erl chu jy jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that the whole clan was expelled” (Shiuan 10.6)

1471. *Dang shanq jy tsyr* “an expression denoting the arrogation of authority” (Shiuan 15.5)
1472. *Jia jy harn jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that /the entry stating that there was no ice/ was added to /the month which normally is/ the coldest” (Cherng 1.3; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
1473. *Der Jenq bor jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /he/ had gained /the good-will of/ the earl of Jenq” (Shiang 11.9)
1474. *Chieh gwo jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that the whole state was taken”
1475. *Yeou jong jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that there was a middle /ten-day period when no rain sacrifice was performed/” (Jau 25.4)
1476. *Way Luu jy tsyr* “an expression implying that Luu belonged to the Exterior” (Ai 7.4)
1477. *Juan shyng jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /she/ travelled alone” (Yiin 2.6)
1478. *Der buh der wey kee jy jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that the ultimate outcome, whether positive or negative, could not yet be known” (Yiin 3.4)
1479. *Yeu jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /the *Chuenchiou*/ granted /them the right to do this/” (Juang 17.1)
1480. *Wey tzanq jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that the burial had not yet taken place” (Shi 9.2)
1481. *Wang hwu ren jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that the responsibility /for this/ did not rest with man” (Shi 31.3)
1482. *Kee yii yii jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that /one/ ought to have desisted /from the undertaking/” (Shi 31.3)
1483. *Buh yeu jy tsyr* “an expression denoting that /the *Chuenchiou*/ refuses to allow /this/” (Shiuan 2.1)
1484. *Tzww hwu ryh jy tsyr* “an expression indicating that sufficient time yet remained of the day /to complete the burial/” (Shiuan 8.12)
1485. *Fwu shenn shenn jy tsyr* “these utterly aggravating terms” (Cherng 2.4)
1486. *Ney jy chyan dinq jy tsyr* “an expression denoting a previously determined /covenant/ between states of the Interior” (Jau 7.3)
1487. *Way jy chyan dinq jy tsyr* “an expression denoting a previously determined /covenant/ involving a party of the Exterior” (Jau 7.3)
1488. *Huoh jee fei yeu jy tsyr yee*. “The term *huoh* (‘to capture’) is an expression indicating that /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not grant /them the right to capture him/.” (Jau 23.8)
1489. *Tsornq jee jy tsyr* “an expression which represents the followers /of the king as the agents of the attack/” (Hwan 5.6)
1490. *Jonq jy tsyr* “an expression denoting a multitude” (Juang 13.1)
1491. *Yeuan gwo jy tsyr* “an expression denoting distant states” (Shi 2.4)

1492. *Wuu shyi liow yi jy tsyr* “the statement concerning the five stones and the six *yi*-birds” (Shi 16.1)

8.2 Unmarked attributes

8.2.1 There are four instances of unmarked attributes to the noun *tsyr*, “word; expression”, in the *Gongyang* (4:1493–1496). The attributes consist of (a) a pronoun (1493); (b) a noun (1494); (c) a nominal phrase (1495), and (d) a verb (1496).

1493. *Chyi tsyr cherng yii*. “Her designation /as Queen/ had already been established.” (Hwan 8.6)
1494. *Jiuntzyy tsyr yee*. “/This/ is an expression chosen by the superior man.” (Hwan 18.5)
1495. *Shiong dih tsyr yee*. “/This/ is an expression used among brothers.” (Shi 20.2)
1496. *Tsyy wei tsyr yee*. “This is an expression indicating a siege.” (Shi 21.6)

8.2.2 There are three instances of unmarked attributes to the noun *tsyr*, “word; expression”, in the *Guuliang* (3:1497–1499), each of which consists of a monosyllabic form. One passage containing the word *tsyr* appears to be syntactically disturbed (1500).

1497. *Nih tsyr* “an expression denoting insurrection” (Shi 28.18)
1498. *Juan tsyr* “an expression denoting monopolizing” (Dinq 5.2)
1499. *Chieh tsyr* “an expression used of a concubine” (Dinq 15.9)
1500. *Shyy ru shy gwo tsyr ran jee, buh yeu Chuu mieh yee*. “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that they had lost their states is due to the fact that it does not grant *Chuu* the right to extinguish /them/.” (Jau 13.6; we expect *Shyy jy ru shy gwo ran jee*, in analogy with sentences 918. and 919.)

9.0 Pronouns

9.1 The first person pronoun GS 58f *ngo* (*ngâg*)/*wu*, “I”; “we”.

9.1.1 There are altogether 90 occurrences of the first person pronoun *wu*, “I”, in the *Gongyang*, functioning (a) as subject (54:1501–1550); (b) as the first member of an appositive expression functioning as subject (1:1551); (c) as a pivot object/subject after the verb GS 523d *giwəd/vey*, “to say” (1:1552), and (d) as an attribute (34:1553–1584).

1501. *Yii wu ay Yeu-yitzer bwu ruoh ay ruu*. “My love for /my son/ *Yeu-yi* is not as great as my love for you.” (Yiin 3.7)

1502. *Wu lih hwu tsyy sheh yee.* "My position here is that of a deputy." (Yiin 3.7)
1503. *Wu foou.* "I shall not act thus!" (Yiin 4.5)
1504. *Wu shyy shiou Twu-chyou.* "I shall arrange to have /the city of/ Twu-chyou put in order." (Yiin 4.5)
1505. *Wu jiang lao yan.* "I shall spend my old age there." (Yiin 4.5)
1506. *Wu wey tzyy kooi Yiin yii.* "I have had an argument with Yiin for your sake." (Yiin 4.5)
1507. *Wu buh faan yee.* "I shall not withdraw /my intention/." (Yiin 4.5)
1508. *Wu yeu Jenq ren moh yeou cherng yee.* "Between us and the people of Jenq there is not yet peace." (Yiin 6.1)
1509. *Wu jiang yii jea wuu jy ryh.* "We advanced on the day jea-wuu." (Juang 8.2)
1510. *Wu jiang ian jyh hwu Luu gwo?* "To whom shall I hand over the state of Luu?" (Juang 32.3)
1511. *Wu buh der ruh yii.* "I shall no longer be allowed to enter." (Shi 1.9)
1512. *Wu yii der tzyy jy tzeir yii.* "We have already got your assassin for you!" (Shi 1.9)
1513. *Wu yuh gong Guo tzer Yu jiow jy.* "I wish to attack Guo, but then Yu will come to its rescue." (Shi 2.3)
1514. *Wu yeu jy iue yii shenq che jy huey.* "I have agreed with him on an unarmed meeting." (Shi 21.6)
1515. *Wu buh tsornng tzyy jy yan yii jyh hwu tsyy.* "It was by not following your advice that I came to this." (Shi 21.6)
1516. *Tzyy buh yeu woo gwo, wu jiang sha tzyy jiun yii.* "If you do not surrender your state to me I shall kill your lord!" (Shi 21.6)
1517. *Wu wen jy yee.* "This I have heard." (Shi 22.4; Shiuan 15.2; Shiang 30.6)
1518. *Wu suei sanq gwo jy yu, goaren buh reen shyng yee.* "Although I am but the ruler of the remnant of a lost state, I cannot bear to act in this manner." (Shi 22.4)
1519. *Wu jiang shy eel yan.* "We shall collect your bodies there!" (Shi 33.3)
1520. *Wu bwu shyh jiun.* "I did not assassinate the lord!" (Shiuan 6.1)
1521. *Wu ruh tzyy jy dahmen tzer wu ren yan.* "When I entered your main gate there was no one there." (Shiuan 6.1)
1522. *Wu buh reen sha tzyy yee.* "I cannot bear to kill you!" (Shiuan 6.1)
1523. *Wu yih buh kee fuh jiann wu jiun yii.* "I also cannot face my lord again." (Shiuan 6.1)
1524. *Wu wen tzyy jy jiann gay lih jiann yee.* "I hear that your sword is very sharp." (Shiuan 6.1)
1525. *Wu jiang guan yan.* "I shall take a look at it!" (Shiuan 6.1)
1526. *Wu heryii der tsyy yu tzyy?* "Why do you do this for me?" (Shiuan 6.1)
1527. *Wu yii buh shyang daw min tzai jyi wu shen her ryh jy yeou.* "If I were to

- lead my people with inauspicious means, calamity would overtake me in no time at all.” (Shiuan 12.3)
1528. *Ruoh jee wu uei jy, chyang jee wu bih jy, shyh yii shy goaren wu yii lih hwu tianshiah yee.* “If I were to overawe the weak and avoid the strong I would no longer be able to keep my position in the realm.” (Shiuan 12.3)
1529. *Wu jiann tzyy jy jiuntzyy yee.* “I have seen that you are a gentleman.” (Shiuan 15.2)
1530. *Wu jin cheu tsyy ranhow erl guei eel.* “I shall now take this /city/ and thereafter return home.” (Shiuan 15.2)
1531. *Wu shy tzyy wanq shyh jy.* “I ordered you to go forward and observe them.” (Shiuan 15.2)
1532. *Tzyy chiuh woo erl guei, wu shwu yeu chuu yu tsyy?* “If you leave me and return, with whom shall I remain here? (Shiuan 15.2)
1533. *Wu yih tsorng tzyy erl guei eel.* “I shall also follow you and return.” (Shiuan 15.2)
1534. *Wu lay sheh jih jy shern ling.* “I relied on the divine powers of the Spirit of the land.” (Cherng 2.4)
1535. *Chiee yii Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy wei jyh, tzer wu shee tzyy yii.* “If, furthermore, you make Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy our hostage, then I shall let you go.” (Cherng 2.4)
1536. *Wu koong ting shy jy wei tzongmiaw shiou yee.* “I fear that this misjudgment will disgrace the ancestral temple.” (Cherng 16.11)
1537. *Wu guh sheu jy faan wei dahfu.* “I did indeed allow him to return and become a great officer.” (Cherng 17.10)
1538. *Wu yuh nah gong her ru?* “I wish to reinstate the duke. What can be done about it?” (Shiang 27.4)
1539. *Wu chiing yeu tzyy meng.* “I request to make a covenant with you.” (Shiang 27.4)
1540. *Wu yuh yeu jy meng.* “I wished to make a covenant with him.” (Shiang 27.4)
1541. *Wu show eel gwo shyh wu yeu eel wei tsuann yee.* “If I were to receive the state as a gift from you, then I would become an accomplice in your rebellion.” (Shiang 29.8)
1542. *Wu yow sha eel shyh fuh tzyy shiong dih shiang sha, jong shen wu yii yee.* “If I in turn were to kill you, then fathers and sons, elder brothers and youngers brothers would continue to kill one another in an endless sequence.” (Shiang 29.8)
1543. *Wu yuh sha jy her ru?* “I want to kill him. What about it?” (Jau 25.7)
1544. *Wu her jiann yii tzai!* “What /rites/ have I usurped?” (Jau 25.7)
1545. *Wu yii wu tzyy yih gong yii.* “I exchanged my son for the duke.” (Jau 31.6)
1546. *Yeou neng wey woo sha sha Yan jee, wu wei chyi chi.* “If anyone is able to kill Yan’s murderer for me I shall be his wife.” (Jau 31.6)

1547. *Wu yuh lih Sheh her ru?* "I wish to establish Sheh /as the ruler of Chyi/. What about it?" (Ai 6.8)
1548. *Wu wen tzyy gay jiang bwu yuh lih woo yee.* "I hear that you are no longer prepared to support my succession." (Ai 6.8)
1549. *Wu bwu lih tzyy jee suoo yii sheng tzyy jee yee.* "In not supporting your succession I am in fact safeguarding your life." (Ai 6.8)
1550. *Wu yeou suoo wei jea.* "I have some material here for the making of coats of arms." (Ai 6.8)
1551. *Wu leang jiun buh shiang haw bae shing her tzuey?* "What crime is that of the people that we two rulers cannot get on together?" (Shiuan 12.3)
1552. *Sheir wey wu shyh jiun jee hwu?* "Who says that I am the one who assassinated the lord?" (Shiuan 6.1)
1553. *Eel wei wu tzyy, sheng wu shiang jiann, syy wu shiang ku.* "You are my sons, /but/ we shall not meet again in life, nor shall we cry over each other's deaths." (Yiin 3.7)
1554. *Wu cherng bay yii.* "Our /efforts to accomplish/ peace have indeed failed." (Yiin 6.1)
1555. *Wu dahfu jy wey minq jee yee.* "He/ was one of our great officers who had not yet been /formally/ invested." (Yiin 9.4; Hwan 11.7; Juang 3.1)
1556. *Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei wei lingwo furen you iue wu Jiang shyh.* "As for the parents' relation to their child /it is such that/ although she may be the wife of /the ruler of/ a neighbouring state /they/ still speak of her as 'our Lady Jiang'." (Hwan 3.6)
1557. *Fuh muu jy iu tzyy, suei wei tianwang how you iue wu Jiang shyh.* "The relation between parents and their child /is such that/ even when she became the Queen of the King by Heaven's Grace /they/ still referred to her as 'our Jih Jiang'." (Hwan 9.1)
1558. *Wu jinn yih yee.* "It/ was a city near to /our capital/." (Hwan 10.4)
1559. *Torng fei wu tzyy.* "Torng is not my son." (Juang 1.2)
1560. *Wu dahfu jy minq hwu tiantzyy jee yee.* "He/ was one of our great officers who had been invested by the Son of Heaven." (Juang 1.3)
1561. *Herwey buh yan shyang wu shy?* "Why is it not stated that /they/ surrendered to our army?" (Juang 8.3)
1562. *Herwey jiow wu uei jee erl meng?* "Why did /he/ approach a man of low rank of the state of Luu to make a covenant with him?" (Juang 22.5)
1563. *Gongtzyy tsorng wu yan erl yiin tsyy, tzer bih kee yii wu wei tianshiah luh shiaw.* "Prince, if you do as I say and drink this, you shall be spared disgrace and shall not be laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)
1564. *Buh tsorng wu yan erl buh yiin tsyy tzer bih wei tianshiah luh shiaw.* "If you do not do as I say and refuse to drink this, you will be disgraced and laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)

1565. *Chyi ju wu Jonq-suen yu?* "Could this perhaps refer to /a member of/ the Jonq-suen family of Luu?" (Miin 1.6)
1566. *Bao tzer wu bao yee.* "As for the treasures they are still mine." (Shi 2.3)
1567. *Wu maa jy chyy yih yii charng yii.* "My horses have grown a bit longer in the teeth." (Shi 2.3)
1568. *Wu gwo yii yeou jiun yii.* "Our state already has a /new/ ruler." (Shi 21.6)
1569. *Eel herwey ku wu shy?* "Why do you cry over my army?" (Shi 33.3)
1570. *Fei wu lih buh neng nah yee.* "Without my stength you will not be able to introduce /him/." (Wen 14.8)
1571. *Wu jiun shwu wey jieh?* "For whom does my ruler call out the guard?" (Shiuan 6.1)
1572. *Her wenn wu ming?* "Why do you ask about my name?" (Shiuan 6.1)
1573. *Wu yii buh shyang daw min tzai jyi wu shen her ryh jy yeou.* "If I were to lead my people with inauspicious means calamity would overtake me in no time at all." (Shiuan 12.3)
1574. *Wu jiun yih yeou chi ryh jy liang eel.* "Also my ruler has provisions for only seven days." (Shiuan 15.2)
1575. *Wu jiun yii mean yii.* "My ruler has already escaped!" (Cherng 2.4)
1576. *Wu tzyy shianq jy, lao fu baw jy, her yow jiun jy yeou?* "If you, Sir, assist him and this old man holds his arms around him, why should then his youth matter?" (Cherng 15.2)
1577. *Chuh gong jee fei wu yih yee.* "To expel the duke was not my idea." (Shiang 27.4)
1578. *Eel sha wu shiong.* "You killed my elder brother." (Shiang 29.8)
1579. *Eel shyh wu jiun.* "You assassinated my ruler." (Shiang 29.8)
1580. *Wu goajiun wen jiun tzay way suen iong wey jiow.* "My ruler has heard that you have had to be without cooked rice and prepared meat dishes during your travels abroad." (Jau 25.7)
1581. *Jiun bwu wanq wu shianjiun.* "You have not forgotten my former lord." (Jau 25.7)
1582. *Yii wu tzongmiaw jy tzay Luu yee, yeou shianjiun jy fwu wey jy neng yii fwu.* "Since my ancestral temple is situated in Luu I am not yet able to wear the /ceremonial/ dresses which were handed down to me by my former lord." (Jau 25.7)
1583. *Her guh syy wu tiantzyy?* "Why do you treat our Son of Heaven as dead?" (Jau 31.6)
1584. *Wu daw chyong yii.* "My way has come to an end!" (Ai 14.1)

9.1.2 There are altogether 39 occurrences of the first person pronoun *wu* in the *Guuliang*, functioning (a) as subject (14:1585–1596); (b) as the first member of an appositive expression functioning as subject (1:1597); (c) as an unmarked attribute (19:1598–1613); (d) as a marked attribute (1:1614), and (e) as a

prepositional object (1:1615). In three instances (1616–1618) we expect the first person pronoun GS 2a *ngá/woo* for *wu*.

1585. *Yii wu bay yee*. “/It/ was due to the fact that we were defeated.” (Hwan 10.4; 17.3; Shi 22.3)
1586. *Yii wu wei jy biann tzwu jy yee*. “Since we changed /the ritual praxis and wore mourning/ for her /the *Chuenchiou*/ records her death.” (Juang 4.2)
1587. *Yii wu huoh jy muh jy yee*. “The specification is due to the fact that we captured him.” (Shi 1.9)
1588. *Wu yeh jee menq furen chiu erl lai*. “In the night I dreamt that /your late/ wife came hurrying up to me.” (Shi 10.5)
1589. *Wu kuu wey*. “I am bitterly frightened!” (Shi 10.5)
1590. *Wu kuu ji*. “I am bitterly hungry!” (Shi 10.5)
1591. *Wu yeu ruu wey yeou guoh chieh*. “You and I have always got on well together.” (Shi 10.5)
1592. *Wu ruoh tzyy ruh erl tzyh ming, tzer Li-ji bih syy*. “If I in these circumstances go in and clear myself, then Li-ji is bound to die.” (Shi 10.5)
1593. *Wu bwu ruoh tzyh syy*. “It is better that I myself die!” (Shi 10.5)
1594. *Wu ning tzyh sha yii an wu jiun*. “I would rather take my own life and, in so doing, bring comfort to my lord.” (Shi 10.5)
1595. *Yii wu yonq chyi shy muh chyi shyh yee*. “Since we employed their army /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives a specified account of their affairs.” (Shi 26.7)
1596. *Wu shyy shyy Duenn tzuoh ruu*. “At first I ordered /Jaw/ Duenn to assist you.” (Wen 6.7)
1597. *Wu ell ren buh shiang yueh shyh tzwu her tzuey?* “What crime is that of /our/ officers and soldiers that we two men do not get on together?” (Shi 1.9)
1598. *Wu Bor Ji guei yu Jih*. “/It/ was our eldest daughter who went to be married in Jih.” (Yiin 2.6)
1599. *Suei shy gwo fwu soen wu yih ryh yee*. “Even though /they/ had lost their states /we/ would not treat them less generously than we had in the past.” (Hwan 7.2)
1600. *Wu dahfu jy wey minq jee yee*. “/He/ was one of our great officers who had not yet been invested /by the king/.” (Hwan 11.7)
1601. *Wu neu yee*. “/She/ was the daughter /of our lord/.” (Juang 4.2; 4.5; 12.1; Shiang 30.6)
1602. *Ru show wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw ru jy her?* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents, but refuses us the right of transit, what then?” (Shi 2.3)
1603. *Ru show wu bih erl jieh wu daw, tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarnq jy way fuu*. “If /he/ does receive our presents and grants us the right of

- transit, then that would mean that we remove our treasures from an inner treasury and deposit them in a treasury outside our own state.” (Shi 2.3)
1604. *Bii bwu jieh wu daw bih buh gaan show wu bih.* “If that /fellow/ does not grant us the right of transit, he would not possibly dare to receive *our presents.*” (Shi 2.3)
1605. *Wu jiun yii lao yii.* “My lord is already old.” (Shi 10.5)
1606. *Li-ji syy tzer wu jiun buh an.* “If Li-ji dies my lord will be unhappy.” (Shi 10.5)
1607. *Suoo yii shyy wu jiun buh an jee, wu bwu ruoh tzyh syy.* “/Since this would be/ something which would cause my lord unhappiness it is better that I myself die.” (Shi 10.5)
1608. *Wu ning tzyh sha yii an wu jiun.* “I would rather commit suicide, and in so doing, bring comfort to my lord.” (Shi 10.5)
1609. *Herwey ku wu shy yee?* “Why do you cry over my army?” (Shi 33.3)
1610. *Ku wu tzyy yee.* “We cry over our sons.” (Shi 33.3)
1611. *Jyi jee jyi wu tzyy Shwu Ji yee.* “The term *jyi* (‘together with’) indicates that /he arrived/ together with the third daughter of /the lord of Luu/.” (Shiuan 5.5)
1612. *Guh wu chern yee.* “/He/ was decidedly one of our subjects.” (Dinq 1.4)
1613. *Wu jiun yee.* “/He/ was our lord.” (Dinq 1.4)
1614. *Yii wu jy syh dahfu tzay yan jeu chyi guey jee yee.* “Since four of our great officers were present on this occasion /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his (sc. prince Shoou’s) noble status.” (Cherng 2.3; we expect *Yii wu syh dahfu jy tzay yan*, in analogy with 1042. *Yii wu ren jy tswen yan daw jy yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ mentions this on account of the fact that men of Luu were present on this occasion.” (Shiuan 15.2))
1615. *Buh shyy Chyi hour der yeu wu wei lii yee.* “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not grant the marquis of Chyi the right to participate in a ritual ceremony together with us.” (Juang 1.4)
1616. *Ru show wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw, tzer ru jy her?* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents, but *refuses us the right of transit*, what then?” (Shi 2.3)
1617. *Bii bwu jieh wu daw,* “If that /fellow/ does not *grant us the right of transit, ...*” (Shi 2.3)
1618. *Ru show wu bih erl jieh wu daw, ...* “If /he/ does receive our presents and *grants us the right of transit, ...*” (Shi 2.3; the verb *jieh*, “to lend”, may be followed by two nominal referents, as recipient and object: 839. *Suey show chyi bih erl jieh jy daw,* “Thereafter he received their presents and granted them the right of transit.” We therefore expect the pronoun *woo*

for *wu* in sentences 1616–1618. It is quite clear that *wu* has here been introduced in analogy with the expression *show wu bih.*)

9.2 The first person pronoun GS 2a *ngá/woo*, “we; I; us; me”

9.2.1 There are altogether 67 occurrences of *woo* in the *Gongyang*, functioning (a) as object with plural reference: “us; the state of Luu” (33:1619–1646); (b) as object with singular reference (18:1647–1665); (c) as subject with plural reference: “we, the state of Luu” (11:1666–1674); (d) as subject with singular reference (3:1675–1677), and (e) as attribute (1:1678). I am uncertain as to the function of the one remaining instance of *woo* (1:1679).

1619. *Chyi yan woo her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ use the term *woo* (‘we’)?” (Yiin 8.3)
1620. *Tzyh woo yan Chyi.* “The term of address appropriate to the state of Chyi was here adopted by us.” (Hwan 3.6)
1621. *Guoh woo yee.* “/He/ passed through our state.” (Hwan 5.9)
1622. *Huah woo yee.* “/He/ treated us in a disrespectful manner.” (Hwan 6.1)
1623. *Cherng shyy hwu woo yee.* “/He/ completed his mission with our assistance.” (Hwan 8.6)
1624. *Shyy woo wei mei.* “/He/ made the state of Luu serve as go-between.” (Hwan 8.6)
1625. *Tzyh woo yan Jih.* “The term of address appropriate to the state of Jih was here adopted by us.” (Hwan 9.1)
1626. *Shyy woo juu jy yee.* “/The Son of Heaven/ ordered us to act as host.” (Juang 1.3)
1627. *Jia woo fwu yee.* “/The king/ added to /the distinctions previously given in the form of/ dresses to our duke.” (Juang 1.6; Wen 1.5)
1628. *Ranq hwu woo yee.* “/Chyi/ ceded /these precious objects/ to us.” (Juang 6.5)
1629. *Shye woo, shyy woo sha jy yee.* “/Chyi/ intimidated us and made us kill him.” (Juang 9.7)
1630. *Jyi woo yee.* “/The floods/ reached to us.” (Juang 11.3)
1631. *Guoh woo yee.* “/She/ passed through our state.” (Juang 11.4)
1632. *Jyi woo yee.* “/The epidemic/ affected our state.” (Juang 20.2)
1633. *Uei woo yee.* “/It was/ in order to intimidate us.” (Juang 31.4)
1634. *Chyi huoh erl guoh woo yee.* “/He/ displayed the spoils suspended from banners when passing through our state.” (Juang 31.4)
1635. *Jenq woo yee.* “/He/ treated us correctly.” (Miin 2.6)
1636. *Lai meng yu woo yee.* “/He/ came and concluded a covenant with us.” (Shi 3.6)
1637. *You iue moh ruoh woo yee.* “/This/ is the same as saying: No one can match us!” (Shi 9.4)

1638. *Tzyh woo wei jy, tzyh woo huei jy*. "We shall ourselves be responsible for the eventual success or failure of this undertaking." (Shi 21.6)
1639. *Shin shyy hwu woo yee*. "/He/ had recently served as an envoy to our state." (Wen 3.2)
1640. *Shye woo erl guei jy*. "/Chyi/ intimidated us and returned it (sc. the body of Gong-suen Aur)." (Wen 15.4)
1641. *Donq woo yee*. "/They/ influenced us." (Wen 15.12)
1642. *Chyi yan woo her?* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ speak of us?" (Shiuan 10.3)
1643. *Yan woo jee wey jyue yu woo yee*. "By speaking of us /in this context the *Chuenchiou* implies that the area/ had not yet been separated from our state." (Shiuan 10.3)
1644. *Shye woo, shyy woo guey jy yee*. "/They/ intimidated us and made us return it." (Cherng 8.1)
1645. *Guh yan woo yee*. "Therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to us /in this context/." (Shiang 5.9; 10.9; Dinq 5.2)
1646. *Guoh woo yee*. "/They/ passed through our state." (Shiang 15.3)
1647. *Wey woo chu Hu erl lih Tuh*. "Expel Hu and establish Tuh as ruler for my sake!" (Hwan 11.4)
1648. *Ya wey woo iue*: "Ya spoke to me, saying:" (Juang 32.3)
1649. *Tzyy buh yeu woo gwo wu jiang sha tzyy jiun yii*. "If you do not surrender your state to me I shall kill your ruler!" (Shi 21.6)
1650. *Shwu-wuu tsuann woo*. "Shwu-wuu has usurped my position." (Shi 28.19)
1651. *Jiang shyy woo chih jy*. "/The duke/ aims for me to throw it away." (Shiuan 6.1)
1652. *Jiun jiang shyy woo sha tzyy*. "The lord aims for me to kill you." (Shiuan 6.1)
1653. *Tzyy yii shyh woo*. "Show it to me!" (Shiuan 6.1)
1654. *Tzyy moou shyr suoo shyr hwo woo yu puh sang shiah jee yee*. "Once upon a time you saved my life by giving me food under the luxuriant mulberry trees." (Shiuan 6.1)
1655. *Tzyy chihh woo erl guei woo shwu yeu chuu hwu tsyy?* "If you leave me and return, with whom shall I remain here?" (Shiuan 15.2)
1656. *Tzyy goou nah woo wu chiing yeu tzyy meng*. "If you do reinstate me I beg to make a covenant with you." (Shiang 27.4)
1657. *Ning shyh jiang nah woo*. "The Ning clan aims at reinstating me." (Shiang 27.4)
1658. *Tzyy guh wey woo yeu ju iue yii*. "You must make a pact with him for my sake!" (Shiang 27.4)
1659. *Chuh woo jee fei Ning shyh yeu Suen shyh*. "The one who expelled me was neither the Ning clan nor the Suen clan." (Shiang 27.4)

1660. *Yeou neng wey woo sha sha Yan jee wu wei chyi chi.* "If anyone is able to kill Yan's murderer for me I shall be his wife." (Jau 31.6)
1661. *Jiang sha woo yu Pwu puu.* "/He/ intends to kill me in the orchard of Pwu." (Dinq 8.16)
1662. *Lih neng jiow woo tzer iu shyh.* "If you are strong enough to rescue me it must be on that occasion!" (Dinq 8.16)
1663. *Tzyy kee yii buh mean woo hwu?* "Would you fail to help me escape from death?" (Dinq 8.16)
1664. *Wu wen tzyy gay jiang bwu yuh lih woo yee.* "I hear that you are no longer prepared to support my succession." (Ai 6.8)
1665. *Yuann ju dahfu jy huah woo yee.* "I would like all you great officers to dispense with etiquette /and be my guests/. (Ai 6.8)
1666. *Jyi, woo yuh jy.* "/The use of the term/ *jyi* ('together with') denotes that we wished for it (sc. the connection so expressed to materialize/. (Yiin 1.2)
1667. *Woo juu jy yee.* "We acted as host on this occasion." (Juang 1.7; 2.3; Dinq 4.9)
1668. *Woo neng bay jy.* "We were able to defeat them." (Juang 10.5)
1669. *Woo ell yee.* "We were double-hearted." (Juang 23.10)
1670. *Woo ran yee.* "It was we who were so." (Juang 23.10)
1671. *Woo wu jiun yee.* "We had no ruler." (Miin 2.6)
1672. *Woo yeou wanq jee tzer shu.* "When someone of us (sc. the state of Luu) went forward /to participate in the burial, the *Chuenchiou*/ recorded /the burial/. (Wen 9.4)
1673. *Chyi shyw woo donq yan eel.* "As a matter of fact we were influenced by them." (Wen 15.12)
1674. *Luh woo juu yee.* "That /the *Chuenchiou*/ records /the burial/ is due to the fact that we acted as host." (Dinq 4.13)
1675. *Woo jyi syy, ruu neng guh nah gong hwu?* "If I should die will you be able to reinstate the duke securely?" (Shiang 27.4)
1676. *Ru buh tsorng shianjiun jy minq yu, tzer woo yi lih jee yee.* "If, on the other hand, we do not follow the former lord's command, then I am the one who should be established as ruler." (Shiang 29.8)
1677. *Woo nae jy jy yii.* "I knew it already then." (Jau 12.1)
1678. *Yii jong gwo wei yih, tzer fa woo sang.* "Should you consider the central states righteous /you should remember that they/ attacked us when we mourned /our late lord/. (Shiang 7.9)
1679. *Erl kuanq hwu woo duo yeou jy.* "How much the more, then, as we possess this to a high degree." (Wen 12.6; my translation of this passage is highly tentative.)

9.2.2 There are altogether 51 occurrences of *woo* in the *Guuliang*, functioning (as) as object with plural reference: “us; the state of Luu” (17:1680–1696); (b) as object with singular reference (8:1697–1703); (c) as subject with plural reference: “we; the state of Luu” (6:1704–1709); (d) as subject with singular or plural reference (13:1710–1722), and (e) as attribute: “our; belonging to the state of Luu” (7:1723–1728).

1680. *Yii gwo shyh jee wey chyi lai jiau jie iu woo*. “That /the name of/ the state is /here/ used in place of the family name is due to the fact that he came and had /official/ contact with us.” (Yiin 2.5)
1681. *Chyi dih yun jee yii chyi lai jie iu woo*. “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ uses the term *dih* (‘younger brother’) is due to the fact that he came and had official contact with us.” (Yiin 7.4)
1682. *Guoh woo yee*. “/He/ passed through our state.” (Hwan 5.9)
1683. *Yii chyi huah woo, guh jean yan jy yee*. “On account of the fact that he treated us in a disrespectful manner /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to him in this brief way.” (Hwan 6.1)
1684. *Bwu jenq chyi yii tzongmiaw jy dahshyh jyi mou iu woo*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers as incorrect the fact that /the Son of Heaven/ approached and consulted us in a great matter pertaining to the ancestral temple.” (Hwan 8.6)
1685. *Chyi dih yun jee, yii chyi lai woo, jeu chyi guey jee yee*. “As for the phrase *chyih dih* (‘his younger brother’) /the *Chuenchiou*/ refers to his noble birth on account of his coming to us /on official business/.” (Hwan 14.3)
1686. *Shyy jy ru shiah Chyi erl lai woo ran*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ represents him (sc. the envoy) as having /first/ gone down to Chyi and then come to us.” (Juang 6.5)
1687. *Wey woo yee*. “/They/ feared us.” (Juang 10.4)
1688. *Guoh woo yee*. “/She/ passed through our state.” (Juang 11.4)
1689. *Chyi buh yan Rong jy fa woo her yee?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state that the Rong attacked us?” (Juang 18.2)
1690. *Buh shyy Rong eel iu woo yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow the Rong to come too close to us.” (Juang 18.2)
1691. *Lai ben jee buh yan chu, jeu chyi jie woo yee*. “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ in the case of those who came to us as refugees does not state that they left /their states and fled/ is in order to commend them for having contacts with us.” (Wen 8.9)
1692. *Yii chyi lai woo, bau jy yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ praises him on account of the fact that he came to us.” (Wen 9.13)
1693. *Buh shyy jinn woo yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow us to be represented as utterly devoid /of authority/.” (Cherng 8.1)
1694. *Guoh woo guh jyh jy yee*. “They passed through our state and therefore /the *Chuenchiou*/ records the event.” (Shiang 15.3)

1695. *Lai ben jee buh yan chu, jeu chyi jie woo jee yee.* "That /the Chuenchiou/ in the case of those who came to us as refugees does not state that they left /their states and fled/ is in order to commend them for having contacted us." (Shiang 21.2)
1696. *You woo yan jy tzer yih yee.* "When spoken of from our standpoint /they/ were equal." (Ai 3.3)
1697. *Shyh yow jiang sha woo hwu?* "Might this /man/ intend to kill me too?" (Shi 10.5)
1698. *Shyh her yeu woo jy shen yee.* "Why do you go to such depths in defying me?" (Shi 10.5)
1699. *Shyh yow jiang sha woo yee.* "This /man/ intends to kill me too." (Shi 10.5)
1700. *Yonq woo tzer kee, bwu yonq woo tzer wu luann chyi der.* "If the ruler uses me (i.e. acts according to my advice) all is well. If he does not do so, this must have no detrimental effect on the virtue of others." (Wen 6.7)
1701. *Suoo yii bian woo jee chyi cheu daw yeuan yii.* "In the time you spend in whipping me you could have travelled a fair distance." (Cherng 5.4)
1702. *Jiun wey tsyy jaw woo yee.* "My ruler has summoned me on this account." (Cherng 5.4)
1703. *Ell san tzyy dwu shuay woo erl ruh Yi Dyi jy swu her wey?* "Why do you lead me to the practices of the Yi and the Dyi barbarians?" (Dinq 10.3)
1704. *Woo ruh jy yee.* "It was we who entered into it." (Hwan 2.9)
1705. *Woo kee yii buh furen jy hwu?* "What choice did we have but to represent her as the spouse /of the duke/?" (Shi 8.4)
1706. *Woo kee yii buh tzwu tzanq jy hwu?* "What choice did we have but to record her death and her burial?" (Shi 8.4)
1707. *Shyh yii woo jinn jy yee.* "It was for this reason that we gave a full description /of the event/." (Cherng 9.5)
1708. *Woo yii liow yueh shanq jea shy y pii sheng.* "On the first jea day of the sixth month we make a complete selection of sacrificial victims." (Ai 1.4)
1709. *Woo yii shyrell yueh shiah shin buu jeng yueh shanq shin.* "On the last shin day of the twelfth month we divine /for the performance of the Jiau sacrifice on/ the first shin day of the first month." (Ai 1.4)
1710. *Woo jiang wenn ju jiang.* "I shall ask /the spirit of/ the River about this." (Shi 4.4)
1711. *Woo wu jia soen yan.* "I have done nothing to aggravate the description of this event." (Shi 19.7)
1712. *Chuu jonq, woo shao.* "The men of/ Chuu are numerous, /but/ we are few." (Shi 22.4)
1713. *Woo jiang shy ruu iu shyh.* "We shall collect your bodies there." (Shi 33.3)

1714. *Woo lao yii*. "We are already old." (Shi 33.3)
 1715. *Bii buh syy tzer woo syy yii*. "If those /sons of ours/ do not die /there/, we will be dead /when they return/." (Shi 33.3)
 1716. *Woo tzwu yii*. "I have had enough!" (Shiuan 17.8)
 1717. *Woo yih chiee yih yan*. "I also have something to say!" (Jau 4.3)
 1718. *Woo yuh fwu shyh jee*. "I participated in that assassination." (Jau 19.2)
 1719. *Woo yih gai jiau jy biann erl daw jy*. "I shall in this one /entry/ complete /the description of/ the vicissitudes of the Jiau sacrifice." (Ai 1.4)
 1720. *Woo jy herng shing jy bwu shiann*. "We know that the fixed stars were not visible." (Juang 7.3)
 1721. *Woo jiann chyi yeun erl jie iu dih jee tzer shyh yeu shuo yee*. "When we see something that falls and hits the ground, then we may speak of rain." (Juang 7.3)
 1722. *Ru show wu bih erl jie wu daw tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarng jy way fuu*. If /the duke of Yu/ does receive our presents and grants us the right of transit, then that would mean that we remove our treasures from an inner treasury and deposit them in an outer treasury." (Shi 2.3)
 1723. *Shianq woo yih yee*. "Shiang was one of our cities." (Yiin 2.2)
 1724. *Tzanq woo jiun jie shanq shiah yee*. "In /the *Chuenchiou* entry/ 'We buried our lord' the highest and the lowest are connected." (Hwan 18.5)
 1725. *Buh yii nann eel woo gwo yee*. "The *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow difficulties to penetrate close to our state." (Juang 19.5)
 1726. *Buh yii nann jieh woo gwo yee*. "The *Chuenchiou*/ does not allow difficulties to border onto our state." (Wen 15.8)
 1727. *Chin woo beei bii*. "They/ invaded our northern frontiers." (Cherng 2.4)
 1728. *Fei woo tzuey yee*. "This/ was not our fault." (Jau 29.4)

9.3 The first person pronoun GS 83a *djo* (*djag*)/yu, "I"

9.3.1 There are altogether three occurrences of yu, "I", in the *Gongyang*, functioning as attribute (1:1728a), and as object (2:1729–1730).

- 1728a. *Tian goou yeou Wu gwo, shanq suh yeou hoei iu yu shen*. "If Heaven indeed wishes to preserve the state of Wu, I would that it soon makes me repent my faults /and die/." (Shiang 29.8)

1729. *Tian sanq yu*. "Heaven has caused me this loss!" (Ai 14.1)
 1730. *Tian juh yu*. "Heaven is cutting me off!" (Ai 14.1)

9.3.2 There is only one occurrence of yu, "I", in the *Guuliang* (1:1731).

1731. *Yu wu tzuey*. "I have no guilt!" (Shiuan 2.4)

9.4 The second person pronoun GS 359a *nía/eel*, “you”

9.4.1 There are altogether 23 occurrences of pronominal *eel*, “you”, in the *Gongyang*, functioning (a) as subject (10:1732–1741); (b) as the second member of a coordinated expression functioning as subject (1:1742); (c) as unmarked attribute (5:1743–1747); (d) as marked attribute (1:1748); (e) as post-verbal object (4:1749–1752), and (f) as pre-verbal object (2:1753–1754). In the majority of these instances *Gongyang eel* carries a connotation of intimacy and/or disrespect.

1732. *Eel wei wu tzyy*. “You /two/ are my sons.” (Yiin 3.7)
1733. *Eel luh yanguh*. “It is only because you were a prisoner of his /that you say this/.” (Juang 12.4)
1734. *Eel jih sha fwu ell ru tzyy yii*. “You have already killed those two young princes!” (Shi 10.5)
1735. *Eel her jy?* “What do you know?” (Shi 33.3)
1736. *Eel jyi syy*. “You are going to your death.” (Shi 33.3)
1737. *Eel herwey ku wu shy?* “Why do you cry over my army?” (Shi 33.3)
1738. *Eel wei ren wei yih*. “You are the most benevolent and righteous /among men/!” (Shiuan 6.1)
1739. *Eel shyh wu jiun*. “You assassinated my lord.” (Shiang 29.8)
1740. *Eel sha wu shiong*. “You killed my elder brother.” (Shiang 29.8)
1741. *Ru eel suoo buh jy her?* “What about that which you do not know?” (Jau 12.1)

1742. *Shyh wu yeu eel wei tsuann yee*. “This would mean that both you and I usurped the title.” (Shiang 29.8)

1743. *Wei eel jiun jee bwu yih binq hwu?* “Is not the one who is your ruler placed in an awkward situation?” (Shi 10.5)
1744. *Ren shyh eel jiun erl fuh gwo buh tao tzeir*. “Someone assassinated your lord and yet you returned without punishing the assassin.” (Shiuan 6.1)
1745. *Wu showeel gwo, shyh wu yeu eel wei tsuann yee*. “If I were to receive the state which belongs to you it would mean that both you and I usurped the title.” (Shiang 29.8)
1746. *Tsyy cherng eel gwo yee fwu*. “This is indeed your state!” (Jau 31.6)
1747. *Eel tsair fuh yii*. “Your wealth has been restored to you.” (Shiang 30.9)

1748. *Ruoh eel jy nian jee tzae shanq jy muh goong yii*. “You are so old that it would take two hands to grasp round the trees on your grave mounds!” (Shi 33.3)

1749. *Ban jy ruh eel, gwo ren moh buh jy*. “Everybody in the whole state knows that Ban has caused you disgrace.” (Miin 1.1)

1750. *Wu jiang shy eel yan*. “We shall collect your bodies there.” (Shi 33.3)
 1751. *Farn tzay eel*. “It all rests with you!” (Shiang 27.4)
 1752. *Wu yow sha eel, shyh fuh tzyy shiong dih shiang sha jong shen wu yii yee*.
 “If I in turn were to kill you, then fathers and sons, elder brothers and
 younger brothers, would continue to kill one another in an endless
 sequence.” (Shiang 29.8)
1753. *Shianjiun jy buh eel jwu kee jy yii*. “It is indeed obvious that the late lord
 did not /intend to/ expel you!” (Yiin 3.7)
 1754. *Yih shy buh eel keh yee*. “/Arguments based on/ righteousness cannot
 indeed overcome you!” (Wen 14.8)

9.4.2 There are four occurrences of pronominal *eel* in the *Guuliang*, functioning
 (a) as attribute (3:1755–1757), and (b) as subject (1:1758).

1755. *Jiin shenn tsorng eel jiow jy yan*. “Take great care to follow your maternal
 uncles instructions!” (Hwan 3.6)
 1756. *Jiin shenn tsorng eel gu jy yan*. “Take great care to follow your maternal
 aunts’ instructions!” (Hwan 3.6)
 1757. *Jiin shenn tsorng eel fuh muu jy yan*. “Take great care to follow your
 father’s and mother’s instructions!” (Hwan 3.6)
1758. *Eel chyi twu jy*. “You must have planned this?” (Shi 10.5)

9.5 The second person pronoun GS 94j *n̄io (n̄iag)/ruu*, “you”

9.5.1 There are three occurrences of pronominal *ruu* in the *Gongyang*,
 functioning (a) as subject (1:1759), and (b) as object (2:1760–1761).

1759. *Ruu neng guh nah gong hwu?* “Will you be able to reinstate the duke
 securely /on his former post/?” (Shiang 27.4)
1760. *Yii wu ay Yeu-yi, tzer bwu ruoh ay ruu*. “My love for Yeu-yi is not as great
 as my love for you.” (Yiin 3.7)
 1761. *Yii wei sheh jih tzongmiaw juu, tzer Yeu-yi bwu ruoh ruu*. “Considering
 /the selection of my successor as/ head of the state and the ancestral
 temple, Yeu-yi cannot match you.” (Yiin 3.7)

9.5.2 There are six occurrences of pronominal *ruu* in the *Guuliang*, functioning
 (a) as subject (3:1762–1764); (b) as a member of a coordinated expression
 functioning as subject (1:1765), and (c) as object (2:1766–1767).

1762. *Ruu chyi jianq wei shyh erl wanq wei joong hwu?* “Had you not better
 command the guard and go forward to guard the grave?” (Shi 10.5)

1763. *Ruu syy bih iu Shyau jy yan chyn jy shiah*. “When you die, it is bound to be below the mountain cliffs at Shyau.” (Shi 33.3)
1764. *Jin ruu tzuoh Duenn yii*. “Now you shall assist /Jaw/ Duenn.” (Wen 6.7)
1765. *Wu yeu ruu wey yeou guoh chieh*. “You and I have always got on well together!” (Shi 10.5)
1766. *Wu jiang shy ruu iu shyh*. “We shall collect your bodies there!” (Shi 33.3)
1767. *Wu shyy shyy Duenn tzuoh ruu*. “At first I ordered Duenn to assist you.” (Wen 6.7)

9.6 The reflexive pronoun GS 1237m Ancient Chinese *dz’i/tzyh*, “self”

9.6.1 There are seven occurrences of pronominal *tzyh*, “self”, in the *Gongyang* (7:1768–1773), in five of which *tzyh* has the common meaning of *ipse ipsum* (1768–1771).

1768. *Tzyh bean soen yii shyng chyuan*. “One may incur personal degradation and loss by weighing and evaluating circumstances.” (Hwan 11.4)
1769. *Sha ren yii tzyh sheng, wang ren yii tzyh tswen, jiuntzyy buh wei yee*. “The superior man does not kill others to save his own life, nor does he destroy /the states of/ others to preserve his own state.” (Hwan 11.4)
1770. *Tzyh wang yee*. “/The state of Liang/ brought on its own destruction.” (Shi 19.7)
1771. *Chyi tzyh wang nay her?* “Under what circumstances did /the state of Liang/ bring on its own destruction?” (Shi 19.7)
1772. *Jiun chiing wuh tzyh dyi yee*. “I beg of you, Sir, not to lead the troops in person!” (Juang 24.8)
1773. *Juang wang chin tzyh shoou jing*. “King Juang grasped the signal with his own hands.” (Shiuan 12.3)

9.6.2 There are 16 occurrences of pronominal *tzyh* in the *Guuliang* (16:1774–1787), in 12 of which *tzyh* has the common meaning of *ipse ipsum* (1774–1783).

1774. *Yiin bwu tzyh jenq yee*. “/This/ is due to the fact that Yiin did not consider himself the correct heir.” (Yiin 11.4)
1775. *Ruh tzyh ming. Ruh tzyh ming tzer kee yii sheng. Bwu ruh tzyh ming tzer buh kee yii sheng*. “Go in and clear yourself! If you do so, you may live. If you do not go in and clear yourself you will not live.” (Shi 10.5)
1776. *Wu ruoh tsyy erl ruh tzyh ming, tzer Li-ji bih syy*. “If I in these circumstances go in and clear myself, then Li-ji is bound to die.” (Shi 10.5)

1777. *Wu ning tzyh sha yii an wu jiun*. "I would rather take my own life and, in so doing, bring comfort to my lord." (Shi 10.5)
1778. *Tzyh wang yee*. "/The state of Liang/ brought on its own destruction." (Shi 19.2)
1779. *Liang wang, tzyh wang yee*. "/The entry/ 'Liang wang' signifies that it brought on its own destruction." (Shi 19.2)
1780. *Tzyh huoh iu shyh chii yii*. "The self-destruction /of Jinn/ issues from this /event/." (Cherng 17.13)
1781. *Fei Wu tzyy jy tzyh ching yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ censures the viscount of Wu for his lack of consideration for his own safety." (Shiang 25.10).
1782. *Chii uei erl buh neng tzyh shoou*. "Chii was in danger and could not defend itself." (Shiang 29.5)
1783. *Guh jiuntzyy jyi Jyy tzyh tzer erl tzer jy yee*. "Therefore the superior man reproaches Jyy in accordance with his self-reproach." (Jau 19.2)
1784. *Yii wei ren jy suoo jinn shyh chyi tzuunii bwu ruoh yii jii suoo tzyh chin jee yee*. "It was considered that as regards that with which man to the utmost serves his ancestors nothing is better than that which he has produced with his own work." (Hwan 14.5)
1785. *Wu bwu ruoh tzyy syy*. "It is better that I myself die." (Shi 10.5)
1786. *Yu jy chyy Sonq Shiang gong yeou yii tzyh cheu jy yee*. "Duke Shiang of Sonq was to a certain extent himself responsible for the disgrace at Yu." (Shi 22.4)
1787. *Mieh erl bwu tzyh jy you bye jy erl buh bye yee*. "To be extinguished without one oneself being aware of the fact is like severing something which yet remains unsevered." (Shiang 6.5; my translation of this passage is tentative.)

9.7 The reflexive pronoun GS 953a *kjag/jii*, "self"

9.7.1 There are altogether 14 occurrences of the pronoun *jii* in the *Gongyang*, functioning (a) as subject (8:1788–1794); (b) as marked subject of an included predication (1:1795), and (c) as object of a verb or a preposition (5:1796–1800).

1788. *Jii sha jy*. "He himself killed him." (Yiin 1.3; Wen 14.10)
1789. *Shang gong jy Koong-fuu syy jii bih syy*. "Duke Shang knew that once Koong-fuu was dead he himself would have to die." (Hwan 2.2)
1790. *Guh iu shyh jii lih*. "Therefore he thereupon established himself as ruler." (Shi 28.19)
1791. *Jiun chu tzer jii ruh, jiun ruh tzer jii chu*. "When the lord left /the state/ he himself entered; when the lord entered /the state/ he himself left." (Shi 30.5)
1792. *Jii lih jy, jii sha jy*. "He himself set him up as ruler, and he himself killed him." (Wen 14.10)

1793. *Jii hoei jy*. "He himself destroyed it." (Wen 16.5)
1794. *Jii chiu erl bih wan*. "The great officers/ themselves ran hurriedly to avoid the pellets." (Shiuan 6.1; this passage appears to be corrupt.)
1795. *Juu ren shyi chyi dwu erl wenn chyi juann, tzer wey jy jii jy yeou tzuey yan eel*. "When the masters /of the state of Luu/ familiarized themselves with his writings and enquired into that which he had transmitted, they would not be aware of the fact that they themselves were blamed in it." (Dinq 1.1)
1796. *Tzer Chern ren bwu yuh chyi faan you jii jee, shy bwu jenq guh yee*. "However, that the people of Chern did not wish him (sc. duke Hwan of Chyi) to return via their own state was due to the fact that /his/ army did not behave correctly." (Shi 4.5)
1797. *Shyy lai chiing jii yee*. "She/ made /him/ come /to Luu/ to make a request on her behalf." (Shi 14.2)
1798. *Chyi wei jy jee juu iu jii*. "The auspicious nature /of marriage/ has a main bearing on /the bridegroom and bride/ themselves." (Wen 2.8)
1799. *Buh cheng shyng ren erl jyr jee yii jii jyr yee*. "That /the Chuenchiou/ relates the seizing /of the earl of Shan/ without reference to the fact that he served as an envoy signifies that he was seized on his own account." (Wen 14.13)
1800. *Chiee fwu niou maa wei liuh woei jii jee yee erl rou yan*. "And, furthermore, oxen and horses are gentle only towards the one who regularly feeds them." (Jau 25.7)

9.7.2 There are altogether ten occurrences of the pronoun *jii* in the *Guuliang*, functioning (a) as subject of a main clause (3:1801–1803); (b) as an unmarked subject of an included predication (1:1804); (c) as a marked subject of an included predication (1:1805), and (d) as an object (5:1806–1810).

1801. *Jii jy shyh shyh erl chaur jy*. "The marquis of Jih/ himself made an approach with regard to this matter and paid a court visit to him." (Hwan 2.7)
1802. *Jii yng erl jyr jy*. "Going forward to meet him they themselves seized him." (Shi 19.3)
1803. *Jii suei jy nah chyi shiong yeu ren jy chern mou shyh chyi jiun*. "Although he himself had been anxious to introduce his elder brother /as ruler/ he plotted with the subject of another /ruler/ to assassinate his ruler." (Shiang 27.4)
1804. *Yii wei ren jy suoo jinn shyh chyi tzuunii bwu ruoh yii jii suoo tzyh chin jee yee*. "It was considered that as regards that with which one to the utmost

serves one's ancestors nothing is better than that which one has produced with one's own work." (Hwan 14.5)

1805. *Hwan gong jy Shianq jy kee mieh yee erl buh jy jii jy buh kee yii mieh yee.* "Duke Hwan knew that Shianq may be extinguished, but did not know that he himself was not the one to extinguish it." (Shi 17.2)
1806. *Kuayran show juhaur jy tzuen jii.* "Singularly he received the homage shown him by the feudal lords." (Shi 5.5)
1807. *Shyhtzyy show juhaur jy tzuen jii erl tian wang tzuen yii.* "When the heir-son receives the homage shown him by the feudal lords the King by Heaven's Grace will be honoured." (Shi 5.5)
1808. *Lai chaur jee lai chiing jii yee.* "The expression *lai chaur* ('to come and pay court') signifies that /someone/ comes to make a request on his own behalf." (Shi 14.2)
1809. *Uei gwo jy jiun in Ju yii chyou yeu jy meng. Ren in jii yii chyou yeu jy meng, jii yng erl jyr jy.* "The ruler of an insignificant state approached /the ruler of/ Ju for the purpose of making a covenant with him. A man approached him himself (sc. the ruler of Ju) for the purpose of making a covenant with him and he himself (sc. the ruler of Ju) went forward to meet him and seized him." (Shi 19.3; this passage has been particularly misunderstood by earlier commentators. Fann Ning suggests that the phrase *yeu jy meng*, 'to covenant with him', should read *yuh jy meng*, 'participated in this covenant'!)
1810. *Shann tzer cheng jiun, guoh tzer cheng jii, tzer min tzuoh ranq yii.* "When excellent/results are achieved, the great officers/ attribute them to their lord; when transgressions occur /they/ attribute them to themselves. /Since this is so/ the people /learn/ to act out the principle of yielding." (Shiang 19.8)

9.8 The pronoun GS 929a g'wək/huoh, "some; someone"

9.8.1 In the *Gongyang huoh* may sometimes be interpreted as "some entry/entries in the Chuenchiou". This *huoh* always occurs in composite questions of the following type:

1811. *Neu herwey huoh cheng neu, huoh cheng fuh, huoh cheng furen.* "Why is the bride /of a feudal lord/ sometimes referred to as *neu* ('daughter'), sometimes as *fuh* ('wife'), and sometimes as *furen*?" (Yiin 2.5)

Excluding the 19 occurrences which conform to this pattern we find the following instances of pronominal *huoh*, "some; someone", in the *Gongyang* (14:1812–1820).

1812. *Huoh iue shyh jy, huoh iue wey ann.* "Some say /that this was done/ in order to intimidate it (sc. the In force); others say that it was because of the darkness." (Juang 25.3)
1813. *Huoh iue tzyh Luh men jyh yu Jeng men; huoh iue tzyh Jeng men jyh yu Lih men jee shyh yee.* "Some say that /the wall/ stretched from the Luh gate to the Jeng gate; others say that it stretched from the Jeng gate to the Lih gate." (Miin 2.6)
1814. *Huoh iue wanq yii, huoh iue faan yii.* "Some said: 'Let us go forward!'; others said: 'Let us return!'" (Shi 33.3)
1815. *Yeong yu poou erl kuei keh, tzer keh huoh boo huoh meu.* "/She/ climbed a ladder to spy on the guests /and found that/ one was lame and the other short-sighted." (Cherng 2.4)
1816. *Huoh wei juu yu gwo, huoh wei juu yu shy.* "One held the power in the capital, the other held the power in the army." (Jau 20.2)
1817. *Huoh iue Maw Rong bay jy.* "Some say that the Maw Rong defeated them." (Cherng 1.6)
1818. *Huoh iue yonq ranhow jiau.* "Some say that the Jiau sacrifice was preceded by another sacrifice." (Cherng 17.6)
1819. *Huoh iue wey chyi jiau jean, shy chyi shyhtzyy chuu hwu juhaur jy shanq yee.* "Some say that it was because he was proud and arrogant and made his heir-son occupy a position above that of the feudal lords." (Shiang 19.2)
1820. *Huoh iue shyh chian shenq jy juu erl bwu keh, sheh tsyy kee hwu?* "Someone said: 'Is it advisable to camp here efter an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the master of a thousand chariots?'" (Dinq 8.16)

9.8.2 There are 16 occurrences of the expression *huoh iue*, "some say", in the *Guuliang* (16:1821–1835). There is one instance of the expression *huoh jee*, "perhaps" (1:1836), and six remaining instances of *huoh* (4:1837–1840).

1821. *Huoh iue Jih tzyy bor Jeu tzyy erl yeu jy meng.* "Some say that the viscount of Jih treated the viscount of Jeu as the elder and made a covenant with him." (Yiin 2.7)
1822. *Huoh iue nian torng jyue torng, guh Jih tzyy yii bor shiann yee.* "Some say that their ages and their ranks being the same, the viscount of Jih took precedence by /claiming/ seniority." (Yiin 2.7)
1823. *Huoh iue Yiin buh jyue dahfu yee.* "Some say that /it was due to the fact/ that Yiin did not invest great officers." (Yiin 8.10)
1824. *Huoh iue chyi buh cheng ming gay wey tzuu huey yee.* "Some say that his not being referred to by his personal name is an avoidance for the sake of his ancestors." (Hwan 2.2)
1825. *Huoh iue tiantzyy wu way.* "Some say that for the Son of Heaven there is no Exterior." (Hwan 8.6)

1826. *Huoh iue chian Jih yu Pyng-tzy-wu*. "Some say that /the army of Chyi/ shifted /the population of/ Jih to Pyng-tzy-wu." (Juang 1.8)
1827. *Huoh iue shih shy yii chyau juhaur*. "Some say that the burial was deferred in an attempt to appeal to the feudal lords /to attend the burial/." (Juang 3.3)
1828. *Huoh iue yii ju Hwan yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou* wished to represent him as/ different from /duke/ Hwan /of Chyi/." (Juang 31.5)
1829. *Huoh iue wey Chyi Hwan huey sha torng shing yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou*/ avoids to mention the killing of a member of his own clan for the sake of /duke/ Hwan of Chyi." (Shi 1.10)
1830. *Huoh iue yii chy charrng jyr jonq yii shoou yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou* records his death/ on account of the fact that he once held an important position with which he guarded /the realm of the Son of Heaven/." (Wen 3.2)
1831. *Huoh iue ryh chy jann yee, huoh iue ryh chy shi yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the day to stress the fact that they (sc. the great officers of Luu) fought in the battle. Others say that /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the day to stress the fact that they all /took part in the battle/." (Cherng 2.3)
1832. *Huoh iue ren yeou wey Jenq Tzyy-chaan iue*: "Some say that someone spoke to Tzyy-chaan of Jenq, saying:" (Jau 18.2)
1833. *Huoh iue tzeng jy yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou*/ has added to it (sc. the description)." (Jau 25.3)
1834. *Huoh iue fei way min yee*. "Some say that /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers it wrong that /they/ kept the people outside /by walling the city/." (Dinq 6.6)
1835. *Huoh iue Yang-huu yii jie jonq yee*. "Some say that Yang-huu used it in his attempt to get away from the masses /who pursued him/." (Dinq 9.3; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
1836. *Huoh jee gong yu?* "Was this someone the duke?; Was this perhaps the duke?" (Wen 4.2)
1837. *Huoh way tsyy yee*. "*Huoh* is an explicit expression." (Yiin 3.1)
1838. *Huoh shuo iue*: "An alternative explication says:" (Yiin 8.10)
1839. *Huoh yih chy i, huoh jong chy ru*. "One would put on her clothes, and the other would wear her jacket innermost /on his body/." (Shiuan 9.14)
1840. *Huoh jyr chy jiun, huoh cheu chy dih*. "Some would seize their ruler, others would take their land." (Shiang 19.2)

9.9 The pronoun GS 802a *māk/moh*, "there is nobody who"

9.9.1 There are altogether 12 occurrence of *moh* in the *Gongyang* (12:1841–1852). In two of these occurrences *moh* is correlated to GS 45a *fiā* (*fiāg*)/*jee* (1851–1852). This is probably due to confusion with the privative

negative GS 103a *mīwo* (*mīwag*)/*wu*, “not have”, which form commonly occurs in the pattern *wu Verb jee*, “there is no one who verbs”.

1841. *Gwo ren moh jy*. “Of the people in the state none knew /whom the late duke had elected as his successor/.” (Yiin 1.1)
1842. *Moh jonq hwu chyi yeu chour show yee*. “Nothing could warrant a more severe criticism than the fact that /the duke/ hunted with his enemy.” (Juang 4.7)
1843. *Gwo ren moh buh jy*. “Of the people in the state there is no one who does not know it.” (Miin 1.1)
1844. *Moh jonq hwu chyi yii sang jyh yee*. “Nothing could be graver than the fact that her dead body arrived /from Chyi/.” (Shi 1.10)
1845. *Dahgwo yan Chyi Sonq, yeuangwo yan Jiang Hwang, tzer yii chyi yu wei moh gaan bwu jyh yee*. “Since Chyi and Sonq are mentioned among the great states, and Jiang and Hwang among the distant states, it must be assumed that of /the rulers of/ the other states none dared not to arrive.” (Shi 2.4)
1846. *You iue moh ruoh woo yee*. “This is the same as saying: ‘There is no one who matches me!’” (Shi 9.4)
1847. *Moh gaan dang yee*. “No one dared to match /the king/.” (Cherng 1.6)
1848. *Juhour moh jy juu yeou*. “None of the feudal lords lorded over it.” (Shiang 10.9)
1849. *Wu tzay shyh tzer tianshiah juhous moh gaan bwu jyh yee*. “Since /the ruler of/ Wu was there none of the feudal lords in the realm dared not to come.” (Ai 13.3)
1850. *Moh jinn ju Chuenchiou*. “Nothing is closer to it (sc. the correct order) than /the doctrine laid down in/ the *Chuenchiou*.” (Ai 14.1)
1851. *Koong-fuu jenq seh erl lih iu chaur, tzer ren moh gaan guoh erl jyh nann iu chyi jiun jee*. “When Koong-fuu adjusted his appearance and took up his position at court, no one dared to commit a fault or cause distress to his lord.” (Hwan 2.2)
1852. *Jonq moh kee shyy wanq jee*. “None of the masses could be made to go forward /and kill him/.” (Shiuan 6.1)

9.9.2 There are altogether seven occurrences of *moh* in the *Guuliang* (7:1853–1859).

1853. *Moh yi hwu Sheu Shwu*. “None was more suited /to be the ruler of Sheu/ than the third brother /of the baron/ of Sheu.” (Hwan 15.6)
1854. *Huey moh ru shen*. “Nothing is more effective than a profound concealment.” (Juang 32.6)

1855. *Moh ru shen yee*. “Nothing is more effective than profound /concealment/.” (Juang 32.6)
1856. *Chern moh tzuen iu shyhtzyy*. “None of /your/ subjects has a higher position than /your/ heir-son.” (Shi 10.5)
1857. *Suei shy tianshiah moh gaan yeou yee*. “Even though /the king/ had lost /control over/ the realm, none /of the feudal lords/ would dare to control it /in his stead/.” (Shi 24.4)
1858. *Buh yan jann, moh jy gaan dyi yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not use the term *jann* (‘to fight a war’), since no one dared to match him (sc. the king).” (Cherng 1.6)
1859. *Bwu jinq moh dah yan*. “Of disrespects none was greater than this.” (Dinq 15.2)

9.10 The pronoun GS 4c’ *t’â/tuo*, “another”, occurs four times in the *Gongyang* (4:1860–1863).

1860. *Shwu-wuu tsyr lih erl tuo ren lih, tzer koong Wei hour jy buh der faan yee*. “If Shwu-wuu had rejected the offer /to succeed the marquis of Wei/ and another man had been established /as ruler/, the eventual return of the marquis of Wei would have been jeopardized.” (Shi 28.19)
1861. *Shyy ruoh tuo ren ran*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that this was /the work of/ another man.” (Wen 7.2)
1862. *Wei yi jieh duann duann yan wu tuo jih, chyi shin shiou shiou neng yeou rong, shyh nan yee*. “It is hard /to find/ one single resolute man who has but one accomplishment, namely a fine and good heart, capable of generosity.” (Wen 12.6; cf Karlgren, *Glosses on the Book of Odes*, gloss 2113; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
1863. *Ruoh shyy tuo ren ran*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ pretends that this was /the work of/ another man.” (Ai 7.4; we expect *Shyy ruoh tuo ren ran*, in analogy with sentence 1861.)

10.0 The nominal and nominalizing expression GS 91a *şio* (*şjag*)/*suoo*

10.1 In the *Gongyang suoo* is found (a) as a noun: “place” (4:1864–1866); (b) as a possible fusion of *suoo* and the preposition GS 97a *giwo* (*giwag*)/*yu*, “the place where; where” (4:1867–1870); (c) as a substitute for *suoo yii* (2:1871–1872); (d) in the expression *suoo yii* (4:1873–1875); (d) in the expression *suoo wey* (2:1876–1877). In one instance *suoo* appears to have been deleted (1:1878). Two instances of *suoo* are found in sentences the syntax of which appears to be garbled (2:1879–1880).

1864. *Chuu chyi suoo erl chiing yuh yee. Chyi chuu chyi suoo erl chiing yuh nay her?* “/He/ remained at his place and requested leave to participate /in the covenant/. Under what circumstances did he do do?” (Shi 8.2)

1865. *Her guh bar jiann iu jiun suoo?* "What cause do you have to bare your sword at the ruler's court?" (Shiuan 6.1)
1866. *Wu suoo buh tong.* "There is no place to which /the sacrifices of the Son of Heaven/ do not penetrate." (Shi 31.3)
1867. *Tzy shenq woei jy suoo tsarng yee.* "/It/ was the place where the stores of sacrificial grain was kept." (Hwan 1414)
1868. *Lin min jy suoo sow huann yee.* "/It/ overlooked the place where the people rinsed and washed." (Juang 31.1)
1869. *In yuh yeou suoo guei, bwu tann chyi chyng erl ju yan.* "Since the litigation could be directed elsewhere, the punishment was meted out without a thorough investigation of the circumstances." (Miin 1.1)
1870. *Shyh Wen wang jy suoo bih feng yeu jee yee.* "That is the place where King Wen sheltered from wind and rain." (Shi 33.3)
1871. *Jeou yueh fei suoo yonq jiau.* "The ninth month was not the proper time for the Jiau sacrifice." (Cherng 17.6)
1872. *Wu yeou suoo wei jea.* "I have /here/ some material for the making of coats of arms." (Ai 6.8)
1873. *Suoo yii luh Chyi yee.* "/This was the city/ with which /Luu/ bribed Chyi." (Shiuan 1.8; Ai 8.3)
1874. *Shian jiun jy suoo yii buh yeu tzyy gwo erl yeu dih jee, farn wey Jih-tzyy guh yee.* "That the late lord did not hand the state to his son, but instead handed it to /you, his/ younger brother, was entirely on account of /you,/ Jih-tzyy." (Shiang 29.8)
1875. *Wu bwu lih tzyy jee, suoo yii sheng tzyy jee yee.* "In not supporting your succession I am in fact safeguarding your life." (Ai 6.8)
1876. *Shianjiun jy suoo wey buh yeu chern gwo erl nah gwo hwu jiun jee, . .* "The reason why the late lord did not give the state to me, but instead handed it to you, Sir, . ." (Yiin 3.7)
1877. *Huey wey yeou yan chyi suoo wey jee. Tsyy yan suoo wey her.* "In the case of meetings the reasons why they were held have hitherto not been given. Why, then, does /the Chuenchiou/ give the reason in this instance?" (Shiang 30.9)
1878. *Yii Shiang gong jy wei iu tsyy yan jee, shyh tzuunii jy shin jinn yii.* "Through duke Shiang's action on this occasion his ambition to serve his ancestors had been fulfilled." (Juang 4.4; we expect *Yii Shiang gong jy suoo wei* ...)
1879. *Tzyy moou shyr suoo syh hwo woo yu puh sang shiah jee yee.* "Once upon

a time you saved my life by giving me food under the luxuriant mulberry trees.” (Shiuan 6.1; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 187, note 6.lk. The syntax of the sentence is obviously disturbed. It should be noted that if *woo* is deleted, the remainder may be treated as the predicate of a nominal sentence, in which the subject—a first person pronoun—has been omitted: “/I/ am the one whom you once revived with food under the luxuriant mulberry trees.”)

1880. *Shiah-fuu jee chyi suoo wei/vey yeou iu Yan jee yee.* (Jau 31.6. Her Shiou paraphrases as follows: *Wei Yan gong furen shyr suoo wey Yan gong sheng yee.*, “/This/ was the son whom she had born duke Yan at the time when she was his wife.” I tentatively suggest the following emendation of this text passage: *Shiah-fuu jee wei chyi suoo yeou iu Yan jee yee.*, “This Shiah-fuu was the /son/ whom she had with /duke/ Yan.”)

The following occurrences exhaust the description of *suoo* in the *Gongyang* (22:1881–1899).

1881. *Suoo jiann yih tsyr, suoo wen yih tsyr, suoo chwan wen yih tsyr.* “/In the *Chuenchiou*/ different expressions are used for the periods which /the author/ had himself witnessed, and of which he had heard or learnt through indirect transmission.” (Yiin 1.7; Hwan 2.4; Ai 14.1)
1882. *Jonq jy suoo yuh lih yee.* “/Jinn/ was the one whom the masses wanted to set up as ruler.” (Yiin 4.7)
1883. *Chyuan jy suoo sheh, shee syy wang wu suoo sheh.* “As for the application of the process of weighing and evaluating circumstances it may not be applied in cases other than those where the life /of the ruler/ or the preservation /of one’s state/ are at stake.” (Hwan 11.4)
1884. *Tsyr wu suoo bean.* “/These/ terms could /therefore/ not be used to signify degradation.” (Hwan 11.6)
1885. *Niann muu jee suoo shann yee.* “To think of one’s mother is something of which /the *Chuenchiou*/ approves.” (Juang 1.2)
1886. *Yeu gong yeou suoo iue ranhow ruh.* “/She/ did not enter until she had made an agreement with the duke concerning a certain matter.” (Juang 24.5)
1887. *Ban chyi suoo cheu chin dih yu juhous yee.* “/The marquis of Chyi/ distributed the land which he (sc. the earl of Tsauro) had taken by aggression among the feudal lords.” (Shi 31.1, 2 instances)
1889. *Chern tzyy suei yuh tao jy erl wu suoo tao yee.* “Although the ministers and sons /of the assassinated ruler/ wished to punish him (sc. the assassin) they had no occasion to do so.” (Shiuan 12.1)
1890. *Chiing jie faan chyi suoo cheu chin dih.* “/The marquis of Chyi/ requested that /Luu/ returned all the /Chyi/ territories which had been occupied.” (Cherng 8.1)

1891. *Wu suoo yonq meng*. “There is no need for a covenant.” (Shiang 27.4; 2 instances)
1892. *Ruoh fwu iue yan wei shinn, tzer fei chern pwu shuh nieh jy suoo gann yuh yee*. “But to confirm agreements and act as guarantor, those are duties in which simple servants and sons of concubines do not presume to participate.” (Shiang 27.4)
1893. *Jih-tzyy jee suoo shyan yee*. “This Jih-tzyy was one whom /the *Chuenchiou*/ considers worthy.” (Shiang 29.8)
1894. *Juhour shiang jiuherl geng Sonq jy suoo sanq*. “The feudal lords gathered together and restored the losses of Sonq.” (Shiang 30.9)
1895. *Ru eel suoo buh jy her?* “What about that which you do not know?” (Jau 12.1)
1896. *Jiun wu suoo ruh dah lii*. “There is no reason why you should humble yourself by /an excessive display of/ courtesy.” (Jau 25.7; my translation of this passage, which follows Her Shiou, is tentative.)
1897. *Herwey buh yan chyi suoo shyr?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not mention what /part of the sacrificial bull/ was eaten /by rats/?” (Dinq 15.2)
1898. *Suoo leh hwu wei jiun jee*: “Such are the pleasures of being a ruler:” (Ai 6.8)
1899. *Tzuu jy suoo day wen yee*. “/This/ was /the period/ of which the forefathers /of Confucius/ had gained knowledge through hearsay.” (Ai 14.1)

10.2 In the *Guuliang suoo* is found (a) as a noun: “place” (12:1900–1910); (b) as a possible fusion of *suoo* and the preposition GS 97a *giwo (giwag)/yu*, “the place where; where” (8:1911–1918); (c) in the expression *suoo yeu* (1:1919); (d) in the expression *suoo iu* (1:1920); (e) as a substitute for *suoo yii* (1:1921); (f) in the expression *suoo yii* (44:1922–1962); (g) in the expression *suoo wey* (3:1964–1966); in five instances the preverb GS 21a *ngia/yi*, “to be proper”, appears to have been deleted before the verb with which *suoo* is in construction (5:1967–1971).

1900. *Shii der chyi suoo*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ takes delight in the fact that /she/ had found a place /to live in/.” (Juang 12.1)
1901. *Chii jee chuu chyi suoo erl chiing yuh yee*. “The term *chii* (‘to beg’) implies that /he/ remained at his place and requested leave to participate /in the covenant/.” (Shi 8.2)
1902. *Jiu jee jiu chyi suoo yee*. “The term *jiu* (‘to reside’) means to reside in one’s proper place.” (Shi 24.4)
1903. *Chaur buh yan suoo*. “The place of a court visit is not /normally/ recorded /in the *Chuenchiou*/.” (Shi 28.10)
1904. *Yan suoo jee fei chyi suoo yee*. “Mention of the place /of a court visit/ implies that it was not the proper place.” (Shi 28.10)

1905. *Guei jee guei chyi suoo yee.* "The term *guei* ('to return') implies that /he/ returned to his proper place." (Shi 28.11)
1906. *Iu shyh erl how gong der chyi suoo yee.* "From that /time/ onwards the duke had obtained his proper place." (Cherng 2.10)
1907. *Yii gong der chyi suoo shen chyi shyh yee.* "Since the duke had obtained his proper place /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives an extended account of his affairs." (Cherng 2.10)
1908. *Yii Bor Ji jy buh der chyi suoo, guh jinn chyi shyh yee.* "Since the eldest daughter of /the marquis of/ Luu had not obtained her proper place /the *Chuenchiou*/ therefore gives an exhaustive account of her affairs." (Cherng 8.11; 9.6)
1909. *Gong suoo yee.* "It/ was the duke's place." (Cherng 16.11)
1910. *Bwu jenq chyi jyr ren iu tzuen jee jy suoo.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns him for having seized a man in the place of the venerated /king/." (Din 1.2)
1911. *Biing jee Jenq bor suoo show minq iu tiantzyy erl jih Tayshan jy yih yee.* "This Biing was the city where the earl of Jenq had received his appointment from the Son of Heaven and where he stayed during the sacrifices on Mount Tay." (Yiin 8.3)
1912. *Biing jee Jenq bor jy suoo show minq erl jih Tayshan jy yih yee.* "This Biing was the city where the earl of Jenq had received his appointment and where he stayed during the sacrifices on Mount Tay." (Hwan 1.4)
1913. *Chyi iue wang jee, min jy suoo guei wanq yee.* "That the king is referred to as *wang* signifies that it is towards him that the people (*wanq*) go forward." (Juang 3.3)
1914. *Min suoo jiuh iue du.* "The place where the people gather together is called capital." (Shi 16.1)
1915. *Shy chyi suoo shih yee.* "The duke/ had lost that to which he was attached." (Shi 28.18)
1916. *Buh yan suoo jyh wey ru yee.* "That /the *Chuenchiou*/ omits to mention where he went signifies that /he/ had not yet gone /to the capital/." (Wen 8.6)
1917. *Yii yueh chih jy suoo tsarng muh jy yee.* "Since this was the place where the ritual instruments were kept /the *Chuenchiou*/ specifies /its account of the calamity." (Shiuan 16.2)
1918. *Buh yan suoo guei, guei jy shann jee yee.* "When /the *Chuenchiou*/ omits to mention the place to which /someone/ returns, the term *guei* ('to return') has a positive connotation." (Cherng 16.10)
1919. *Fei yeu suoo yeu fa jann yee.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns /the army of Luu/ for having fought /the troops/ together with which they had attacked /Sonq/." (Hwan 12.9)

1920. *Jyr buh yan suoo iu dih. Yeun iu Jinn yee.* "That the *Chuenchiou*/ records the capture while omitting to mention the place where /the duke of Yu/ was located signifies that /he/ was hidden away in Jinn." (Shi 5.9; for this translation see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 172, note 5.9a.)
1921. *Yii wei ren jy suoo jinn shyh chyi tzuunii bwu ruoh yii jii suoo tzyh chin jee yee.* "It/ was considered that as regards that with which one to the utmost serves one's ancestors nothing is better than that which one has produced with one's own work." (Hwan 14.5)
1922. *Ming Yeuan suoo yii bean Jenq bor wuh yeu dih yee.* "The *Chuenchiou*/ gives the personal name of Yeuan as a means of degrading the earl of Jenq and condemning his giving away land." (Yiin 8.2)
1923. *Kao lii shiou der suoo yii tzuen tiantzyy yee.* "By accomplishing /the demands of/ the rites and by cultivating virtue /the feudal lords/ honoured the Son of Heaven." (Yiin 11.1)
1924. *Yuan nian yeou jenq suoo yii jenq Yiin yee.* "By mentioning the first month in the first year /the *Chuenchiou*/ represents Yiin as /the/ true /ruler/." (Yiin 11.4)
1925. *Yuan nian yeou wang suoo yii chyr Hwan yee.* "The reference to the king in the first year is a means whereby /the *Chuenchiou* seeks to/ control /duke/ Hwan." (Hwan 1.1)
1926. *Shyh suoo yii cherng der yee.* "The posthumous name is a means of expressing the virtues /of a deceased ruler/." (Hwan 18.5; Miin 1.3; Wen 1.4)
1927. *Chyou chour jy ren fei suoo yii jie huen-in yee.* "Men involved in a feud /with the bridegroom/ do not participate in his marriage ceremony." (Juang 1.4)
1928. *Tsuei ma fei suoo yii jie biann mean yee.* "Persons wearing/ mourning clothes do not come in contact with /persons wearing/ festive ceremonial dresses." (Juang 1.4)
1929. *Binq gongtzyy suoo yii ji hwu gong yee.* "By representing the duke's son as embarrassed /the *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the duke." (Juang 2.2)
1930. *Sheang Chyi hour suoo yii binq Chyi hour yee.* "The entry relating that the spouse of the marquis of Luu/ feasted the marquis of Chyi is a means whereby /the *Chuenchiou*/ criticizes the marquis of Chyi." (Juang 4.1)
1931. *Bei gong jy dyi suoo yii bei gong yee.* "Humbling the duke's opposite number is a means whereby /the *Chuenchiou*/ humbles the duke." (Juang 4.7)
1932. *Ren juhaur suoo yii ren gong yee.* "By referring to /these/ feudal lords as 'men' /the *Chuenchiou*/ represents the duke as a /common/ man." (Juang 5.4)

1933. *Furen suoo yii chornng tzongmiaw yee*. "The function of a spouse is to honour the ancestral temple." (Juang 24.1)
1934. *Tsyy sheaugwo jy suoo yii shyh dahgwo yee*. "This is the way in which a small state serves a great state." (Shi 2.3)
1935. *Tzuen wang shyhtzyy yu Shoouday nae suoo yii tzuen tianwang jy minq yee*. "By honouring the heir-son of the king at Shoouday /the feudal lords/ actually honoured the command of the King by Heaven's Grace." (Shi 5.5)
1936. *Shyhtzyy harn wang minq huey Chyi Hwan yih suoo yii tzuen tianwang jy minq yee*. "By meeting /duke/ Hwan of Chyi on the command of the king the heir-son also honoured the command of the King by Heaven's Grace." (Shi 5.5)
1937. *Fa Wei suoo yii jiow Chyi yee*. "The attack on Wei was a means of rescuing Chyi." (Shi 18.6)
1938. *Ren Chuu tzyy suoo yii ren juhoo yee*. "By referring to the viscount of Chuu as a /common/ man /the Chuenchiou/ represents the feudal lords as /common/ men." (Shi 27.5)
1939. *Ryh Kuen jy tzwu suoo yii jiin Shang-cherh jy shyh yee*. "The Chuenchiou/ gives the day of Kuen's death as a means of taking careful cognizance of the fact that Shang-cherh assassinated him." (Wen 1.10)
1940. *Fa Chuu suoo yii jiow Jiang yee*. "The attack on Chuu was a means of rescuing Jiang." (Wen 3.7)
1941. *Cherng Sheh jy wei jiun suoo yii jonq Shang-ren jy shyh yee*. "The Chuenchiou/ represents Sheh as having attained the full status of ruler as a means of aggravating the fact that Shang-ren assassinated him." (Wen 14.10)
1942. *Fa Jenq suoo yii jiow Sonq yee*. "The attack on Jenq was a means of rescuing Sonq." (Shiuan 1.14)
1943. *Tsyy tianshiah suoo yii ching yee*. "This was instrumental in bringing about the decline of the realm." (Shiuan 15.5)
1944. *Suoo yii mean yeousy jy guoh yee*. "This/ was a means of relieving the officials of the /responsibility for/ the mishap." (Cherng 7.2)
1945. *Jinn chyi chin suoo yii wuh Jau yee*. "The Chuenchiou/ gives a complete description of this intimate relationship as a means of condemning Jau." (Jau 8.1)
1946. *Suoo yii wuh Chuu tzyy yee*. "This/ was a means of condemning the viscount of Chuu." (Jau 11.10)
1947. *Chyi guei jy daw fei suoo yii guei yee*. "The reasons why he returned were others than those which would have warranted the use of the term *guei* ('to return')." (Hwan 15.6)
1948. *Tsyy nae suoo yii gai jiau*. "This is the reason why /the text here/ completes /the description of/ the *Jiau* sacrifice." (Ai 1.4)

1949. *Fei chyi suoo yii yeu ren erl yeu ren wey jy wang*. "To give to others what one has no right to give away is referred to as a loss." (Dinq 8.16)
1950. *Jonq chyi suoo yii lai yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ stresses its origin (sc. the origin of a person's name)." (Jau 7.5)
1951. *Chiing daw chiu ranq yee, tzer shyh shee chyi suoo yii wei ren yee*. "By divorcing ritual yielding from the practice of entreating one sets aside that which makes a man into a man." (Dinq 1.6)
1952. *Ren jy suoo yii wei ren jee yan yee*. "The true nature of man is revealed in his speech." (Shi 22.3)
1953. *Yan jy suoo yii wei yan jee shinn yee*. "The true nature of speech is revealed in trustworthiness." (Shi 22.3)
1954. *Shinn jy suoo yii wei shinn jee daw yee*. "The true nature of trustworthiness is revealed in /its relation to/ the true principles." (Shi 22.4)
1955. *Chyi suoo yii wu dahfu jee, chyi yih yih yee*. "The underlying reasons why they (sc. the states of Tsaur and Jeu) lacked great officers were different." (Jau 14.6)
1956. *Suoo yii yan wei jee yii dah gong yee*. "That /the *Chuenchiou* here/ uses the term *wei* ('to besiege') is in order to magnify /the role of/ the duke." (Jau 26.3)
1957. *Ren jy suoo yii wei ren jee ranq yee*. "What makes a man into a man is /his capacity for/ ritual yielding." (Dinq 1.6)
1958. *Chyi suoo yii wei niou jee yih*. "The reasons why they (sc. the sacrificial bulls) hold their respective status are different." (Ai 1.4)
1959. *Suoo yii shyw wu jiun buh an jee wu bwu ruoh tzyh syy*. "Since /I/ would be the cause of my lord's unhappiness it is better that I myself die." (Shi 10.5)
1960. *Suoo yii bian woo jee chyi cheu daw yeuan yii*. "In the time you spend on whipping me you could have travelled a fair distance." (Cherng 5.4; my translation of this passage is tentative, see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 195, note 5.4c.)
1961. *Chyi suoo yii bey tzai jy daw bwu jinn yee*. "The precautions /of the officials/ against calamities had not been exhaustive." (Cherng 7.1)
1962. *Shan lin soou tzer jy lih suoo yii yeu min gonq yee*. "The profits of the mountains, the forests, the swamps and the marshes are what the ruler has in common with the people." (Juang 28.5; Cherng 18.11; we expect *suoo* for *suoo yii*.)
1964. *Lii-keh suoo wey shyh jee wei Chorng-eel yee*. "The one for whose sake Lii-keh assassinated /the two princes/ was Chorng-eel." (Shi 10.5)
1965. *Guh Lii-keh suoo wey shyh jee wei Chorng-eel yee*. "Therefore the one for whose sake Lii-keh assassinated /the two princes/ was Chorng-eel." (Shi 10.5)

1966. *Huey buh yan chyi suoo wey*. "In the case of meetings /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not /normally/ state why they were held." (Shiang 30.9)
1967. *Tsyu suoo yuh, yuh suoo bwu yuh*. "/The marquis of Chyi/ declined to meet those /feudal lords/ whom he ought to meet and met /the ones/ whom he ought not to meet." (Juang 32.2)
1968. *Fei suoo chii yee*. "/An army/ is not something which ought to be begged for." (Shi 26.5)
1969. *Jiann ren fei suoo guey yee. Guey ren fei suoo shyng yee. Shyng ren fei suoo jinn yee*. "Mean men are not to be honoured. Noble men are not to be punished with mutilation. Mutilated criminals are not to be approached." (Shiang 29.4)
1970. *Fei chyi suoo cheu erl cheu jy wey jy daw*. "To take what one should not take is referred to as stealth." (Dinq 8.16)
1971. *Fei suoo cheu erl cheu jy wey jy daw*. "To take what should not be taken is referred to as stealth." (Ai 1.4)

The following occurrences exhaust the description of *suoo* in the *Guuliang* (22:1972–1993).

1972. *Juann iue yan fa yan cheu suoo wuh yee*. "Tradition has it that the use of the terms *fa* ('to attack') and *cheu* ('to take') express condemnation." (Yiin 4.1)
1973. *Gaw diing jee Gaw jy suoo wei yee*. "This tripod of Gaw was made by /a man in/ Gaw." (Hwan 2.5)
1974. *Wei chyi suoo shian der*. "/They/ only /used/ their first catch /of game/." (Hwan 4.1)
1975. *Yii wei ren jy suoo jinn shyh chyi tzuunii bwu ruoh yii jii suoo tzyh chin jee*. "/It/ was considered that as regards that with which one to the utmost serves one's ancestors nothing is better than that which one has produced with one's own work." (Hwan 14.5)
1976. *Guu jee juhaur shyh shiann yu tiantzyy yii chyi gwo jy suoo yeou*. "In times of old the feudal lords at /fixed/ times presented the produce of their states to the Son of Heaven." (Hwan 15.1)
1977. *Guu jee jiun ren jee bih shyh min jy suoo chyn*. "Those who in old times ruled over the people at all times considered the difficulties under which the people toiled." (Juang 29.1)
1978. *Yeou suoo shiann tzer ryh*. "Where /the irregular circumstances/ are apparent /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the day /of the event/." (Juang 32.5)
1979. *Gooou yeou suoo shiann moh ru shen yee*. "If /the actual circumstances of the event/ are apparent nothing is more effective than a profound concealment." (Juang 32.6)

1980. *Yii Hwan gong wei jy suoo chin yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that duke Hwan /of Chyi/ knew whom he attacked. (Shi 4.1)
1981. *Buh gaan yii suoo bwu shinn erl jia jy tzuen jee*. “/The feudal lords/ did not dare to burden the honoured one (sc. the heir-son of the king) with /their own/ lack of trust /as manifested in the covenant/.” (Shi 5.5)
1982. *Hwan buh chern, wang shyhtzyy buh tzyy, tzer chyi suoo shann yan her yee?* “If /duke/ Hwan did not behave like a /true/ subject and the heir-son did not behave like a /true/ son, of what did then /the feudal lords/ approved in them?” (Shi 5.5)
1983. *Jiuntzyy jy iu wuh, wu suoo goou erl yii*. “Such is the superior man’s relation to objects that he never makes haphazard judgments.” (Shi 16.1)
1984. *Suoo chyy yee*. “/This/ was what /the *Chuenchiou*/ considered a disgrace.” (Wen 2.3)
1985. *Fwu jea fei ren ren jy suoo neng wei yee*. “These coats of arms are not what everybody is capable of making.” (Cherng 1.4)
1986. *Fei ren jy suoo neng yee*. “/To protect the sacrificial animals/ was beyond the capacity of man.” (Cherng 7.2)
1987. *Sheng syy wu suoo jia chyi nuh*. “Neither the living nor the dead had any occasion to vent their anger.” (Shiang 19.8)
1988. *Geng Sonq jy suoo sanq tsair yee*. “/The feudal lords/ restored the property which Sonq had lost.” (Shiang 30.9)
1989. *Buh dwo ren chin jy suoo ming*. “/The superior man/ does not deprive /anyone/ of the name which has been given him by his parents.” (Jau 7.8)
1990. *Jiun minq wu suoo buh tong*. “The command of the lord is universally prevailing.” (Jau 15.2)
1991. *Shyh wey yeou suoo cherng yee*. “No order had as yet been achieved.” (Jau 22.7)
1992. *Fei tiantzyy suoo feng yee*. “/He/ was not /a ruler/ whom the Son of Heaven had enfeoffed.” (Jau 31.6)
1993. *Tzyy jy suoo yan jee sheng jy biann yee*. “What the Master is discussing /here/ is /actually/ the vicissitudes of the sacrificial victims.” (Ai 1.4).

11.0 The nominalizing expression GS 45a 𠄎𠄎 (tjǎg)/jee

11.1 In the *Gongyang jee* is found (a) in the patterns *chyí verb jee* “those of them who verb”, and *N jy verb jee*, “those of N who verb” (1994–1999), from which pattern *jy* may be deleted (2000–2003); (b) in the pattern *[N] yeou verb jee*, “[among N] there are those who verb” (2004–2009); (c) in the pattern *[N] wu verb jee*, “[among N] there are not those who verb” (2010); (d) in the pattern *N moh verb jee*, “among N none verbs” (for examples see sentences 1851–1852); (e) in the pattern *yeou N verb jee*, “there is N who verbs”, and in the pattern *wu N verb jee*, “there is no N who verbs” (2011–2013); (f) in the pattern *verb jee*, “one who verbs” (2014–2018); The form *jee* may further be linked to (g) a marked

predication (2019–2021); (h) an unmarked predication (2022–2025); (i) a nominal expression containing *suoo yii* (see sentences 1874–1875); (j) a nomen proprium (2026–2032); (k) a numeral (2033–2034); (l) a quotation from the *Chuenchiou* or the *Gongyang* text (2035–2036); and (m) a conditional clause (2037–2038). The form *jee* is finally found (n) in the time expressions *guu jee*, “in the past”, *shi jee*, “formerly”, and *yeh jee*, “in the night; last night” (2039–2051), and (o) in the interrogative expression *her jee?*, “and why?” (1:2052).

1994. *Wu dahfu jy wey minq jee* “one of our great officers who had not yet been /formally/ invested” (Yiin 9.4)
1995. *Guu ren jy yeou chyuan jee* “those of the men of ancient times who possessed /knowledge of/ the process of weighing and evaluating circumstances” (Hwan 11.4)
1996. *Chyi yng neu jy shian jyh jee* “one of the yng ladies of Chyi who had arrived beforehand” (Shi 8.4)
1997. *Chyi jyh Chyi jee* “the one among them who went to Chyi” (Wen 11.6)
1998. *Jinn jonq jy tzoou jee* “those of the multitudes of Jinn who fled” (Shiuan 12.3)
1999. *Jinn shy jy jiow Jenq jee* “that part of the army of Jinn that had gone to the rescue of Jenq” (Shiuan 12.3)
2000. *Juhour torng shinq jee* “a feudal lord of the same clan /as the Son of Heaven/” (Juang 1.3)
2001. *Dahfu torng shinq jee* “a great officer of the the same clan /as his feudal lord/” (Juang 1.3)
2002. *Ju dahfu syy jee* “those among the great officers who died” (Shiuan 12.3)
2003. *Sy, yih, huh, yanq syy jee* “those of the service corps, grooms and cooks who died” (Shiuan 12.3)
2004. *Chuenchiou yeou ji fuh lao tzyy day tsornq jenq jee*. “In the *Chuenchiou* there are instances of a son being criticized for having replaced his aged father and engaged in government affairs.” (Hwan 9.4)
2005. *Tianshiah juhour yeou wei wu daw jee*. “Among the feudal lords in the realm there were those who in their actions failed to follow the correct norms.” (Shiuan 11.5)
2006. *Jeu neu yeou wei Tserng furen jee* “Among the ladies of Jeu there was one who was the spouse of /the ruler of/ Tserng.” (Shiang 5.3)
2007. *Tianshiah juhour goou yeou neng fa Chuu jee* . . “If among the feudal lords of the realm there is one who is capable of attacking Chuu, . .” (Dinq 4.14)
2008. *Goou yeou lii Wei dih shy Wei suh jee*, . . “If there is any one /among us/ who treads the soil of Wei or eats the grain of Wei, . . .” (Shiang 27.4)

2009. *Yeou neng wey woo sha sha Yan jee*, . . . “If there is any one /among you/ who is able to kill Yan’s murderer for me, . . .” (Jau 31.6; it should be noted that the *jee* obtaining in this passage is a telescoped form for *jee jee*.)
2010. *Jonq wu liou jy jee*. “Not one one in the crowd made an attempt to hold him back.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2011. *Yeou ren her been tzyh guei erl chu jee*. “There was someone who came out from the inner apartments carrying a bamboo basket.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2012. *Wu ren men yan yee*. “There was nobody there to guard the door.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2013. *Wu ren guei yan jee*. “There was nobody there to guard the inner apartment.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2014. *Buh syy yu Tsaur jiun jee* “those /great officers/ who refused to give their lives for the lord of Tsaur” (Juang 26.3)
2015. *Sha shyhtzyy muudih jyr cheng jiun jee* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ openly refers to the ruler /as the killer/ when relating the killing of an heir or a younger brother by the same mother /as the ruler/” (Juang 32.3)
2016. *Buh chornq jau erl biann yuh hwu tianshiah jee* . . . “That which within one single morning can send down rain over the whole world” (Shi 31.3)
2017. *Wei ren how jee* “the one who is the descendant of another man” (Cherng 15.2)
2018. *Ju wei jiun jee* “all who serve as rulers” (Shiang 29.8)
2019. *Jinn jy buh yan chu ruh jee* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not record the leaving and the entering of /the dukes of/ Jinn” (Shi 10.5)
2020. *Chyi wei jyi jee juu iu jii*. “The auspicious nature of marriage has a main bearing on /the bridegroom and bride/ themselves.” (Wen 2.8)
2021. *Chyi yan lai meng jee* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ states that he came to make a covenant” (Shi 3.6)
2022. *Chern ren bwu yuh chyi faan you jii jee* “That the people of Chern did not want him to return via their own territory” (Shi 4.5)
2023. *Chuenchiou tsyr farn erl bwu shay jee* “Instances in which the terminology of the *Chuenchiou* is replete and without eliminations” (Shi 22.4)
2024. *Gong bwu yuh meng jee* “That the duke did not take part in the covenant” (Jau 13.5)
2025. *Dinq wu jenq yueh jee* “That the first month is not indicated in /the first year of duke/ Dinq” (Dinq 1.1)

2026. *Jaw Duenn jy che yow, Chyi Mii-ming jee* “Jaw Duenn’s spearman to the right, a certain Chyi Mii-ming” (Shiuan 6.1)
2027. *Tsarng shyh jy muu jee* “This mother of /the head of/ the Tsarng clan” (Jau 31.6)
2028. *Bau Goang-fuu yeu Liang Mae-tzyy jee* “A certain Bau Goang-fuu and a certain Liang Mae-tzyy” (Jau 31.6)
2029. *Yan furen jee* “This wife of /duke/ Yan” (Jau 31.6)
2030. *Shiah-fuu jee* “This Shiah-fuu” (Jau 3.16)
2031. *Yi-bor jee her wei jee yee?* “What was the occupation of this Yi-bor?” (Shi 15.1)
2032. *Yang-huu jee her wei jee yee?* “What was the occupation of this Yang-huu?” (Dinq 8.16)
2033. *Yih jee jy Chyi, yih jee jy Luu, yih jee jy Jinn.* “One went to Chyi, one went to Luu, and one went to Jinn.” (Wen 11.6)
2034. *Shyh buh jyi tzy syh jee, tzer dong buh chyow, shiah buh ge* “If an officer is prevented from attending these four /seasonal sacrifices/, then he must not wear a furcoat in winter, nor a light dress in summer.” (Hwan 8.1; the first part of this passage may be best interpreted as a telescoped version of *Shyh jy buh jyi tzy syh jee*.)
2035. *Yuan nian jee her?* “What is meant by the term *yuan nian* (‘the first year’)?” (Yiin 1.1)
2036. *Deng lai jy jee her?* “What is meant by the expression *deng lai jy?*” (Yiin 5.1)
2037. *Tianshiah juhous yeou shiang mieh wang jee, Hwan gong buh neng jiow, tzer Hwan gong chyy jy.* “If among the feudal lords in the realm there were those who extinguished /the states of/ one another without duke Hwan being able to go to the rescue, then he felt ashamed on account of this.” (Shi 1.2; it has already been noted that *jee* may be a telescoped realization of two juxtaposed *jee*, as in sentence 2009. The same may be true of this and the following sentence, in which *jee* is linked to subordinated clauses.)
2038. *Woo yeou wanq jee tzer shu.* “If someone went forward from the state of Luu the event was recorded.” (Wen 9.4)
2039. *Guu jee buh meng.* “In times of old no covenants were made (Hwan 3.2)
2040. *Guu jee Jenq gwo chuu yu Liou.* “In the past /the ruler of/ Jenq resided in Liou.” (Hwan 11.4)
2041. *Guu jee juhous bih yeou huey jiuhy jy shyh.* “In times of old feudal lords necessarily conducted the affairs of meeting and assembly.” (Juang 4.4)

2042. *Guu jee yeou ming tiantzyy, tzer Jih hour bih ju.* “If there had been an enlightened Son of Heaven in those ancient times, then the marquis of Jih would necessarily have been executed.” (Juang 4.4)
2043. *Guu jee Jou gong dong jeng tzer shi gwo yuann.* “In the past, when the duke of Jou went on a punitive expedition to the east, the western countries resented it.” (Shi 4.5)
2044. *Guu jee dahfu yii chiuu, san nian day fanq.* “In ancient times, when a great officer had already left /his position/ he waited for three years /for the ruler/ to banish him.” (Shiuan 1.5)
2045. *Guu jee chern yeou dah sang, tzer jiun san nian buh hu chyi men.* “In ancient times, when a subject had mourning for his parents, his ruler did not for three years call at his gate.” (Shiuan 1.5)
2046. *Guu jee yu buh chuan, pyi bwu duh, tzer buh chu iu syh fang.* “In the days of old one did not travel in the four directions unless one’s bows were pierced and one’s furs were eaten by grubs.” (Shiuan 12.3)
2047. *Guu jee shyr-i erl jieh.* “In ancient times /agricultural taxation was based on/ tithe tribute.” (Shiuan 15.8)
2048. *Guu jee herwey shyr-i erl jieh?* “Why was /agricultural taxation/ in the past /based on/ tithe tribute?” (Shiuan 15.8)
2049. *Guu jee shanq ching shiah ching, shanq shyh, shiah shyh.* “In ancient times there were higher ministers and lower ministers, higher officials and lower officials.” (Shiang 11.1)
2050. *Shi jee Shwu-jonq Huey-bor jy shyh shwu wei jy?* “In the past, who created the incident involving Shwu-jonq Huey-bor?” (Cherng 15.2)
2051. *Goaren yeh jee chiin erl bwu mey.* “At night I lie down to rest but cannot sleep.” (Shi 2.3)
2052. *Her jee?* “And why?” (Hwan 2.5)

11.2 In the *Guiliang jee* is found (a) in the patterns *chyi verb jee*, “those of them who verb”, and *N jy verb jee*, “those of N who verb” (2053–2058), from which pattern *jy* may be deleted (2059–2060); (b) in the pattern *[N] yeou verb jee*, “[among N] there are those who verb” (2061–2067); (c) in the pattern *[N] wu verb jee*, “[among N] there are not those who verb” (2068); (d) in the pattern *verb jee*, “one who verbs; those who verb” (2069–2077); The form *jee* may further be linked to (e) a marked predication (2078); (f) a nominal expression containing *suoo yii* and *suoo wey*, which expression functions as the subject of a predication (for examples see sentences 1952–1960 and 1964–1965); (g) a noun or a nomen proprium (2079–2082); (h) a numeral (2083); (i) a quotation from the *Chuenchiou* or the *Guiliang* text (2084–2086); (j) a conditional clause (2087–2088). The form *jee* is finally found (k) in the time expressions *guu jee*, “in the past”

(15:2089–2103), and *yeh jee*, “In the night” (2:2104), and (1) in the expression *huoh jee*, “perhaps” (1:2105). Three occurrences of *jee* are irregular (2106–2108).

2053. *Chyi bwu jenq jee* “those /sons/ who were not in direct line of succession” (Yiin 7.2)
2054. *Chyi dah jee* “the more important of the two” (Yiin 10.3)
2055. *Tsay jy guey jee* “a noble man of /the state of/ Tsay” (Hwan 17.5)
2056. *Wu dahfu jy minq hwu tiantzyy jee* “one of our great officers who had been invested by the Son of Heaven” (Juang 1.3)
2057. *Lii jy ching jee* “an unimportant ritual” (Juang 19.3)
2058. *Chyi jy Chyi jee* “the one of them who went to Chyi” (Wen 11.6)

2059. *Syh tzyh way lai jee* “such food as comes from the outside” (Shi 10.5)
2060. *Uei gwo jy jiun wey jyue jee* “a ruler of an insignificant state who had not yet received his rank /by the Son of Heaven/” (Shi 29.1)

2061. *Yeou bwu day bean jyue erl tzuely eh shiann jee*. “There are instances where crime and evil are made manifest even without resort to degradation and severance.” (Wen 18.7)
2062. *Yeou day bean jyue erl eh tsorng jy jee*. “There are instances where evil deeds follow upon degradation and severance.” (Wen 18.7)
2063. *Chyi ren yeou jy jy jee*. “There was a man of Chyi who knew of this.” (Cherng 1.7)
2064. *Yeou ruoh Chyi Chinq-feng shyh chyi jiun jee hwu?* “Is /here/ anyone like Chinq-feng of Chyi who assassinated his ruler?” (Jau 4.3)
2065. *Yeou ruoh Chuu gongtzyy Wei shyh chyi shiong jy tzyy erl day jy wei jiun jee hwu?* “Is /here/ anyone like prince Wei of Chuu who assassinated the son of his elder brother and took his place as ruler?” (Jau 4.3)
2066. *Goou juhoh yeou yuh fa Chuu jee*, . . . “If among the feudal lords there is one who wishes to attack Chuu, . . .” (Dinq 4.14)
2067. *Gay yeou yuh chi Chuu wang jy muu jee*. “Actually there was one who wanted to take the mother of the king of Chuu as his wife.” (Dinq 4.16)

2068. *Pii maa yii luen wu faan jee*. “Not a single horse and not a single wheel returned.” (Shi 33.3)

2069. *Ruoh Yiin jee* “a man like Yiin” (Yiin 1.1)
2070. *Wei Jenq bor jee* “the one who was the earl of Jenq” (Yiin 1.3)
2071. *Goouyan yii ruh ren wei jyh jee* “the one who recklessly sets his mind on entering the territory of others” (Yiin 2.3)
2072. *Fwu dahfu jee* “that /the Chuenchiou/ does not refer to /him/ as a great officer” (Yiin 9.4)

2073. *Wei jy jong jee* "the one who serves as her mediator /in the marriage/" (Hwan 9.1)
2074. *Guann jy meng buh chyi erl jyh jee* "those who without previous agreement arrived to participate in the covenant at Guann" (Shi 2.4)
2075. *Tzuey shann sheh jee* "the most skillful archer" (Wen 11.6)
2076. *Wei tianshiah juu jee* "the one who lords it over the realm" (Shiuan 15.5)
2077. *Bwu tzanq jee* "one whose burial was not /normally/ recorded /in the Chuenchiou/"
2078. *Chyi yan lai jee yeou way Luu jy tsyr yan.* "That /the Chuenchiou/ mentions the term *lai* ('to come') /has as a result that/ the terminology connotes that Luu is treated as belonging to the Exterior." (Ai 7.4)
2079. *Min jee jiun jy been yee.* "The people is the basis /of the power/ of the ruler." (Hwan 14.7)
2080. *Menq-lau jee Luu jy bao dau yee.* "This Menq-lau was a precious sword of Luu." (Shi 1.9)
2081. *Ferng Chour-fuu jee Ching gong jy che yow yee.* "A certain Ferng Chour-fuu was spearman to the right in duke Ching's chariot." (Cherng 2.4)
2082. *Guu jy shern ren yeou Yinq-shanq gong jee.* "Among the spirits of the past there was a certain duke Yinq-shanq." (Dinq 1.6)
2083. *Syh jee bey erl how chiuh lii yee.* "According to the rites the marriage took place after the conclusion of these four /ceremonies/." (Juang 22.6)
2084. *Chyi dih yun jee* "the expression 'his younger brother'" (Yiin 7.4)
2085. *Chyi hour lai shiann jye jee* "The expression 'the marquis of Chyi came and presented the spoils'" (Juang 31.4)
2086. *Wang shyhtzyy yun jee* "the expression 'the heir-son of the king'" (Shi 5.4)
2087. *Fuh fa jee, tzer yii fa jyh.* "If it was a case of a renewed attack, then the expression *fa* ('to attack') is mentioned in the report of the duke's return." (Shiang 19.2)
2088. *Meng bwu fuh fa jee, tzer yii huey jyh.* "If it was a case of a covenant concerning the discontinuation of attacks, then the expression *huey* ('to meet') is mentioned in the report of the duke's return." (Shiang 19.2)
2089. *Guu jee juhaur shyh shiann yu tiantzyy yii chyi gwo jy suoo yeou.* "In times of old the feudal lords at /fixed/ times presented the produce of their states to the Son of Heaven." (Hwan 15.1)

2090. *Guu jee shuey shyr-i*. "In ancient times taxes amounted to one tenth /of the agricultural production/." (Juang 28.7)
2091. *Guu jee bey jea ing jow fei yii shing gwo yee, tzer yii jeng wu daw yee*. "When in ancient times one put on armour and helmet, if it was not in order to establish a state, then it was in order to punish those who acted contrary to the way." (Shi 22.4)
2092. *Guu jee jiun jy shyy chern yee, shyy ren jee tzuoh shyan jee*. "In ancient times, when rulers employed their subjects, they made the good assist the worthy." (Wen 617)
2093. *Guu jee buh chornng chuang*. "In ancient times /one/ did not inflict two wounds." (Wen 11.6)
2094. *Guu jee shyr-i*. "In ancient times /tributes amounted to/ one part out of ten." (Shiuan 15.8)
2095. *Guu jee san bor buh wei lii*. "In ancient times /a square each side of which was/ 300 paces constituted a /square/ *lii*." (Shiuan 15.8)
2096. *Guu jee gongtyan wei jiu*. "In ancient times the public field comprised /also/ the habitation area." (Shiuan 15.8)
2097. *Guu jee lih gwo jia, bor guan jiu*. "In ancient times, when a state was established, the offices of the hundred officials were all provided for." (Cherng 1.4)
2098. *Guu jee yeou syh min*. "In the past there were /the following/ four kinds of people." (Cherng 1.4)
2099. *Guu jee tiantzyy liow shy*. "In the past the Son of Heaven had six armies." (Shiang 11.1)
2100. *Guu jee dahgwo guoh sheauyih, sheauyih bih shyh chyangerl chiing tzuey*. "In the past when /armies of/ a large state passed by a small city, /the inhabitants of/ the small city must decorate the /city/ walls and beg the indulgence /of the ruler of the large state/." (Shiang 25.10)
2101. *Guu jee suei yeou wen shyh, bih yeou wuu bey*. "In the past, even though it may be a civil matter, military precautions must needs be taken." (Shiang 25.10)
2102. *Guu jee tiantzyy feng juhaur, chyi dih tzwu yii rong chyi min*. "In ancient times, when the Son of Heaven enfeoffed a feudal lord, his land was sufficient to accomodate his people." (Shiang 29.5)
2103. *Guu jee gongtyan shyr-i*. "In the past /the produce of/ the public field amounted to one tenth /of the agricultural production/." (Ai 12.1)
2104. *Wu yeh jee menq furen chiu erl lai*. "In the night I dreamt that your /late/ wife came hurrying /up to me/." (Shi 10.5, 2 instances)
2105. *Huoh jee gong yu?* "Was this someone the duke?; Was this perhaps the duke?" (Wen 4.2)

2106. *Buh yan chyi ren jyi jy jee her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not mention the one who acted together with them?” (Shi 4.6; we expect *Chyi buh yan jyi jy jee her?*)
2107. *Chyi nih jee shwei yee?* “Who was the one who went to meet her?” (Wen 4.2; we expect *Nih jy jee shwei yee?*)
2108. *Wei shyy lai jee, buh shyy der guei jy yih yee.* “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ creates the impression that /she/ was made to return is in order to disallow /her the right to/ return.” (Shiuan 5.5; cf. sentence 937. My translation of this passage is tentative.)

12.0 Non-interrogative determinatives

12.1 The demonstrative determinative GS 966d *tsiag/tzy* occurs once in the *Gongyang* (1:2109)

2109. *Shyh buh jyi tzy syh jee, tzer dong buh chyou, shiah buh ge?* “If an officer is prevented from attending these four /seasonal sacrifices/, then he must not wear a furcoat in winter, nor a light dress in summer.” (Hwan 8.1)

12.2 The demonstrative determinative GS 869a *siæg/sy* occurs twice in the *Guiliang* (2:2110). In two instances *Guiliang sy* substitutes for the connective marker GS 906a *tsak/tzer*, “then”, (2:2111).

2110. *Chyi sy jy wey yu?* “Could it refer to this?” (Shi 2.3; Jau 4.3)

2111. *Jih erl tsyr yan, sy liou yii.* “Thereafter you should perform a sacrifice there and then /the river/ will flow.” (Cherng 5.4, 2 instances)

12.3 The demonstrative determinative GS 358a *ts'jār/tsyy* is in both texts commonly used in the sense of “this entry; this text passage” (see *Malmqvist* 1975, pp. 38–40), and as the topic of a definition. Such occurrences of *tsyy* are not accounted for in the following.

12.3.1 *Gongyang tsyy* is found (a) in construction with a following noun (6:2112–2117); in one instance the construction is marked by GS 962a *fiæg/jy* (1:2118); alone, (b) as the object of a preposition (18:2119–2136), or (c) a verb (24:2137–2152), and (d) in the expression *tsyy jy wey yu?* “Could it refer to this?” (1:2153).

2112. *Miin gong chyn tsyy fuhren.* “Duke Miin /wanted to/ boast before these women.” (Juang 12.4)

2113. *Goaren jyi buh chii tsyy binq, wu jiang ian jyh hwu Luu gwo?* “If I should not recover from this illness, to whom should I hand over the state of Luu?” (Juang 32.3)

2114. *Tao tsyy tzeir jee fei chern tzyy yee.* "The one who punished this assassin was neither a subject nor a son." (Shiuan 12.1)
2115. *Jiun ru chyn tsyy sanq ren, . .* "If you, my lord, take pity on this lost person, . . ." (Shiuan 12.3)
2116. *Fei tsyy yueh ryh yee.* "/The death/ did not take place on this day of this month." (Cherng 17.10)
2117. *Herwey yii tsyy yueh ryh tzuw jy?* "Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ record his death on this day in this month?" (Cherng 17.10)
2118. *Dang tsyy jy shyr* "At this time" (Jau 31.6)
2119. *Herwey dwu bau hwu tsyy?* "Why is praise indicated only in this case?" (Yiin 1.2)
2120. *Wu lih hwu tsyy sheh yee.* "My position here is that of a deputy." (Yiin 3.7)
2121. *Chyi bwu ryh her yii shyy hwu tsyy?* "Why does the practice of not giving the day start from this /meeting at Ge/?" (Juang 13.4)
2122. *Wu buh tsorng tzyy jy yan yii jyh hwu tsyy.* "It was by not following your advice that I came to this." (Shi 21.6)
2123. *Shyhyii goaren der jiann jiun jy yuh miann erl uei jyh hwu tsyy.* "Thereby /they/ have made it possible for me to see your jade countenance and thus, in this slight fashion, I have arrived in this /place/." (Shiuan 12.3; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 188, note 12.3e.)
2124. *Herwey dwu bean hwu tsyy?* "Why is blame expressed only on this occasion?" (Jau 1.2)
2125. *Yii jiuntzyy jy wei yih yeou leh hwu tsyy yee.* "It is considered that the superior man also took delight in this." (Ai 14.1)
2126. *Shyy mieh faang iu tsyy hwu?* "Was this actually the first instance of extinction?" (Yiin 2.3)
2127. *Shyy buh chin yng faang iu tsyy hwu?* "Was this actually the first instance of /a prince's/ not meeting /his bride/ in person?" (Yiin 2.5)
2128. *Shyy jiann jugong faang iu tsyy hwu?* "Was this the first instance of a usurpation /of the rites proper to/ a ducal minister?" (Yiin 5.5)
2129. *Yii Shiang gong jy wei iu tsyy yan jee shyh tzuunii jy shin jinn yii.* "Through duke Shiang's action on this occasion his ambition to serve his ancestors had been fulfilled." (Juang 4.4)
2130. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan ji?* "Since both before and after this occasion there were matters /which involved contact between the duke and the marquis of Chyi/, why is criticism expressed only here?" (Juang 4.7)

2131. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, how tsyy jee yeou shyh yii, tzer herwey dwu iu tsyy yan yeu Hwan gong wei juu?* "Since both before and after this occasion there were matters /in which duke Hwan served as leader/, why is the role of leader granted him only in this instance?" (Shi 4.4)
2132. *Chyi ju tzer yi iu tsyy yan biann yii?* "Was it perhaps proper to indicate the vicissitudes on this occasion?" (Shiuan 15.9)
2133. *Ran tzer jiun chiing chuu yu tsyy.* "In that case I beg of you, my lord, to remain here." (Shiuan 15.2)
2134. *Wu shwu yeu chuu yu tsyy?* "With whom shall I remain here?" (Shiuan 15.2)
2135. *Huann jy chii bih tzyh tsyy shyy yee.* "When the trouble starts it is bound to be due to this." (Shi 26.9)
2136. *Huann jy chii bih tzyh tsyy shyy.* "When the trouble starts it is bound to be due to this." (Cherng 2.4)
2137. *Chyan tsyy yii.* "There were instances /of this/ prior to this." (Yiin 2.3; 2.5; 5.5)
2138. *Shee tsyy wu ley jee hwu?* "Apart from this /one/ were there no others who were implicated /and died for their lords/?" (Hwan 2.2; Juang 12.4; Shi 10.3)
2139. *Chyan tsyy jee yeou shyh yii.* "Before this /identical/ events had taken place." (Juang 4.7; Shi 4.4)
2140. *How tsyy jee yeou shyh yii.* "After this /identical/ events took place." (Juang 4.7; Shi 4.4)
2141. *Gongtzyy tsornq wu yan erl yiin tsyy, tzer bih kee yii wu wei tianshiah luh shiaw.* "Prince, if you do as I say and drink this, you shall be spared disgrace and shall not be laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)
2142. *Buh tsornq wu yan erl buh yiin tsyy, tzer bih wei tianshiah luh shiaw.* "If you do not listen to my advice and refuse to drink this, you are bound to be disgraced and laughed at by the world." (Juang 32.3)
2143. *Yii tsyy wei wanq jee jy shyh yee.* "The Chuenchiou/ considers that this was a task proper to him who ruled as a king." (Shi 4.4)
2144. *Yii wei suei Wen wang jy jann yih bwu guoh tsyy yee.* "The Chuenchiou/ is of the opinion that even King Wen's /righteous methods of/ warfare did not surpass this." (Shi 22.4)
2145. *Ruoh tsyy hwu?* "Should it be like this?" (Shiuan 1.5)
2146. *Wu her yii der tsyy yu tzyy?* "Why do you do this for me?" (Shiuan 6.1)
2147. *Wu jin cheu tsyy ranhow erl guei eel.* "I shall today take this /city/ and only thereafter return home." (Shiuan 15.2)
2148. *Jinn tsyy bwu shenq jiang chiuherl guei eel.* "If /we/ exhaust this /supply

without having gained a victory, we/ intend to leave /Sonq/ and return home.” (Shiuan 15.2)

2149. *Wu you cheu tsyy ranhow guei eel.* “I shall yet take this /city/ and thereafter return home.” (Shiuan 15.2)

2150. *Chyan tsyy jee.* “Prior to this.” (Cherng 2.4; 16.11; 17.10)

2151. *U yeou yan ren jy gwo shyan ruoh tsyy jee hwu?* “Where could one find a man as deserving as this in telling of the affairs of another ruler’s state?” (Jau 31.6; my earlier rendering of this passage (*Malmqvist* 1971, p. 207) which is based on Koong Goang-sen’s interpretation and which reads as follows: “How can it be said that a man renowned all over the state for his worth acted in this manner?”, is probably mistaken. The present translation is tentative.)

2152. *Sheh tsyy kee hwu?* “Is it advisable to camp here?” (Dinq 8.16)

2153. *Buh neng hwu muu jee, chyi ju tsyy jy wey yu?* “Could the statement that /the king/ was unable to get along with his mother perhaps refer to this instance?” (Shi 24.4)

12.3.2 *Guuliang tsyy* is found (a) in construction with a following nominal expression (3:2154–2156); alone, (b) as the object of a preposition (3:2157–2159), or a verb (3:2160–2162), and (c) in the expression *tsyy jy wey yee*, “it is this that it refers to” (1:2163).

2154. *Yeou tsyy san jee ranhow kee yii chu huey.* “Only when /he/ has /secured the services of/ these three /assistants/ may /the ruler/ go abroad to participate in meetings.” (Yiin 2.1)

2155. *Yeou tsyy san jee bey ranhow kee yii huey yii.* “Only when he has /secured the services of/ all these three /assistants/ may /the ruler/ participate in meetings.” (Hwan 18.5)

2156. *Jiun ruoh yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh tsyy shyr kee yii.* “If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time as this will do!” (Dinq 4.14)

2157. *Chyi jy huann bih tzyh tsyy shyy yii.* “When the trouble starts in Chyi it is bound to be due to this.” (Cherng 1.7)

2158. *Jiun wey tsyy jaw woo yee.* “/My/ ruler has summoned me on account of this.” (Cherng 5.4)

2159. *Goaren chiee yonq tsyy ruh hae yii.* “I shall take the consequences of this /defeat/ and go to the sea /coast to live there in exile/.” (Dinq 4.16)

2160. *Wu ruoh tsyy erl ruh tzyh ming, tzer Li-ji bih sy.* “If I in these circumstances go in and clear myself, then Li-ji is bound to die.” (Shi 10.5)

2161. *In tsyy yii shiann tiantzzy jyh yu shyh jie yeou miaw.* “Using this /entry the *Chuenchiou*/ makes it clear that all nobles from the Son of Heaven down to the officers had ancestral temples.” (Shi 15.11)
2162. *Yeou jiun ru tsyy chyi shyan yee.* “/We/ have a ruler who is as worthy as this.” (Dinq 4.16)
2163. *Tsyy jy wey yee.* “It is this that it refers to.” (Juang 8.2)

12.4 The demonstrative determinative GS 866a *âiëg/shyh*, “this”

12.4.1 *Gongyang shyh* is found (a) in construction with a following noun (3:2164–2166); alone, (b) as the subject of a clause (19:2167–2185); (c) as the predicate of a clause (3:2186–2188); (d) in the expression *wey shyh*, “on account of this” (5:2189–2193); (e) in the expression *iu shyh*, “there; on that occasion” (2:2194–2195); (f) in the expression *tzay shyh*, “to be there; to be present” (8:2196–2201); (g) in the expression *tzyh shyh*, “from that time onwards” (8:2202–2208); (h) in the expression *ruoh shyh* (3:2209–2211); (i) in the expression *yongq shyh*, “to take advantage of this” (2:2212–2213), and (j) as the object of a verb (5:2214–2218). There are no occurrences of *shyh* with a copulative function in the *Gongyang*. Two instances of resumptive *shyh*, occurring in clauses introduced by the connective marker GS 906a *tsək/tzer* may signal the beginning of a transition towards a copulative function of *shyh* (2:2219–2220).

2164. *You iue shyh ren lai yee.* “/It/ is the same as saying: ‘That man came!’” (Hwan 6.1)
2165. *Wey shyh guh fa jy yee.* “/It/ was for this reason that /they/ attacked them.” (Shi 18.3)
2166. *Tian wu shyh yueh yee.* “Heaven did not possess this month.” (Wen 6.9)
2167. *Shyh buh kee der tzer binq.* “If this could not be achieved, then /Jay-jonq/ would be disgraced.” (Hwan 11.4)
2168. *Shyh jiang wei luann hwu?* “Will he start a rebellion?” (Juang 32.3)
2169. *Shy wang yee.* “This was the king.” (Shi 24.4)
2170. *Shyh Wen wang jy suoo bih feng yeu jee yee.* “That is the place where King Wen sheltered from wind and rain.” (Shi 33.3)
2171. *Ran tzer shyh wang jee yu?* “If so, was this then one of the king’s men?” (Wen 9.1)
2172. *Shyh tzyy yee.* “This was the son /of the king/.” (Wen 9.1)
2173. *Shyh nann yee.* “This is a difficult task.” (Wen 12.6)
2174. *Shyh leh erl yii yii.* “This was simply meant as a joke.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2175. *Shyh her yee?* “What is that?” (Shiuan 6.1)
2176. *Shyh tzyy jy yih yee.* “This shows how relaxed you are.” (Shiuan 6.1)
2177. *Shyh tzyy jy jean yee.* “This shows how frugal you are.” (Shiuan 6.1)

2178. *Shyh her tzyy jy chyng yee?* "Why do you so openly reveal your feelings?" (Shiuan 15.2)
2179. *Shyh tzer tuu Chyi yee.* "That is the same as giving you all the land of Chyi!" (Cherng 2.4)
2180. *Shyh wu yeu eel wei tsuann yee.* "That would mean that I would become an accomplice in your rebellion." (Shiang 29.8)
2181. *Shyh fuh tzyy shiong dih shiang sha.* "That would mean that fathers and sons, elder and younger brothers would /continue to/ kill one another." (Shiang 29.8)
2182. *Shyh jiuntzyy jy ting Jyy yee.* "This /entry/ contains the superior man's verdict in the case of /prince/ Jyy." (Jau 19.5)
2183. *Tzanq Sheu Daw gong, shyh jiuntzyy jy sheh Jyy yee.* "The entry/ 'There was the burial of duke Daw of Sheu' signifies that the superior man pardoned /prince/ Jyy." (Jau 19.5)
2184. *Shyh fuh jy shyng hwu tzyy yee.* "This is a case of a father dominating over his son." (Ai 3.1)
2185. *Shyh shanq jy shyng hwu shiah yee.* "This is a case of the upper dominating over the lower." (Ai 3.1)
2186. *Guu ren jy yeou chyuan jee, Jay-jonq jy chyuan shyh yee.* "When men in ancient times possessed the ability to weigh /and evaluate circumstances/ it was the ability of Jay-jonq that they possessed." (Hwan 11.4)
2187. *Huoh iue tzyh Luh men jyh yu Jeng men jee shyh yee.* "Some say that /the wall/ stretched from the Luh gate to the Jeng gate." (Miin 2.6)
2188. *Huoh iue tzyh Jeng men jyh yu Lih men jee shyh yee.* "Others say that /the wall/ stretched from the Jeng gate to the Lih gate." (Miin 2.6)
2189. *Wey shyh shing shy erl fa Luu.* "On this account /they/ raised an army and attacked Luu." (Shi 1.9)
2190. *Wey shyh jiu Jau gong iu Nan-yiing.* "On this account /he/ detained duke Jau in Nan-yiing." (Dinq 4.14)
2191. *Wey shyh shing shy.* "On this account /they/ raised an army." (Dinq 4.14)
2192. *Chyi ren wey shyh lai guei jy.* "On this account the men of Chyi came and returned these /areas/." (Dinq 10.5)
2193. *Tzer wey jy chyi wey shyh yu?* "However, it is not known whether it was for this reason." (Ai 14.1)
2194. *Ranhow tsyr bing iu shyh.* "Thereafter /we/ dedicated our arms there." (Juang 8.2)
2195. *Lih neng jiow woo tzer iu shyh.* "If you are strong enough to rescue me it must be on that occasion." (Dinq 8.16)

2196. *Tiantzyy tzay shyh yee. Tiantzyy tzay shyh, tzer herwey buh yan tiantzyy tzay shyh?* "The Son of Heaven was there. Since the Son of Heaven was there, why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ not state this fact?" (Shi 28.10)
2197. *Juhour jie tzay shyh.* "The feudal lords were all there." (Shiang 16.2)
2198. *Wey Wei Shyr-eh tzay shyh yee.* "/It/ was on account of the fact that Shyr-eh of Wei was there." (Shiang 27.5)
2199. *Eh ren jy twu tzay shyh yee.* "The follower of an evil man is here." (Shiang 27.5)
2200. *Gong buh syy yee, tzay shyh.* "The duke did not die, he is here." (Jau 31.6)
2201. *Wu tzay shyh, tzer tianshiah juhour moh gaan bwu jyh yee.* "Since /the viscount of/ Wu was there none of the feudal lords of the realm dared not to come." (Ai 1313)
2202. *Tzyh shyh shyy mieh yee.* "This was the beginning of the end /for the state of Jih/." (Juang 1.8)
2203. *Tzyh shyh gong wu jyi bwu shyh shuoh yee.* "From that /time onwards/ the duke failed to observe the *shuoh* ceremony even when he was not ill." (Wen 16.2)
2204. *Tzyh shyh tzoou jy Chyi.* "Thereafter he hurriedly went to Chyi." (Shiuan 18.9; Cherng 15.2)
2205. *Yan jiang tzyh shyh shyh jiun yee.* "/This/ states that /he/ thereafter meant to assassinate the lord." (Jau 1.2)
2206. *Yan jiang tzyh shyh wei jiun yee.* "/This/ states that /he/ thereafter meant to act as ruler." (Jau 13.3)
2207. *Tzyh shyh tzoou jy Jinn.* "Thereafter /he/ hurriedly went to Jinn." (Dinq 8.16)
2208. *Tzyh shyh wanq shyh Sheh.* "Thereafter /he/ went forward and assassinated Sheh." (Ai 6.8)
2209. *Iong der ruoh shyh hwu?* "How could /the succession/ possibly /be resolved/ in this way?" (Juang 32.2)
2210. *Jin ruoh shyh tzuoh erl yeu Jih-tzyy gwo, Jih-tzyy yow bwu show yee.* "If we were to act in this way and in a great hurry hand over the state to Jih-tzyy, he would yet refuse to accept it." (Shiang 29.8)
2211. *Ruoh shyh tzer Chern tswen shi yii.* "In this way the preservation of Chern was a matter for grief." (Jau 9.3; my rendering of this passage is tentative.)
2212. *Kee tzer in yonq shyh wanq nih yii.* "If this could be, he were subsequently and in accordande with these /instructions/ to go forward to meet /the bride in Jih/." (Hwan 8.6)
2213. *Ching gong yonq shyh yih erl buh faan.* "Duke Ching took advantage of this /situation/, escaped and did not return." (Cherng 2.4)

2214. *You iue wu chiuh shyh yun eel*. “/It/ is the same as saying: ‘Do not leave this /place/!’” (Shiuan 1.5)
2215. *Wei jiu shyh shyh*. “/It/ was sufficient to inspect /and make sure that the sacrificial victims had no defects.” (Shiuan 3.3)
2216. *Ing shyh erl yeou tian tzai*. “The calamity occurred in response to this.” (Shiuan 15.9)
2217. *Shee shyh wu nann yii*. “Apart from this there were no difficulties.” (Cherng 16.10)
2218. *Yii ruh shyh wei tzuey yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers it a crime that /Yu-shyr/ entered this /town/.” (Shiang 1.2)
2219. *Tsornng jiun dong shi nan beei, tzer shyh chern pwu shuh nieh jy shyh yee*. “To follow the ruler wherever he may go, that is the duty of simple servants and sons of concubines.” (Shiang 27.4)
2220. *Ran tzer shyh wang jee yu?* “If so, was this one of the king’s men?” (Wen 9.1)

12.4.2 *Guuliang shyh* is found (a) in construction with a following noun (9:2221–2229); alone, (b) as the subject of a clause (29:2230–2257); (c) as the predicate of a clause (1:2258); (d) in the expression *wey shyh*, “on this account” (4:2259–2262); (e) in the expression *iu shyh*, “there; on that occasion” (1:2263); (f) in the expression *yu shyh*, “in this case” (1:2264); (g) in the expression *ru shyh*, “like this” (1:2265); (h) in the expression *yii shyh*, “thereby” (1:2266); (i) in the expression *in shyh*, “to avail oneself of this” (1:2267); (j) in the expression *yii shyh wei x*, “to consider this as x” (8:2268–2275); (k) as a copula (3:2276–2278). In a number of instances *Guuliang shyh*, occurring in clauses introduced by the connective marker GS 906a *tsək/tzer*, appears to have a function intermediate between that of a resumptive subject and a copula (17:2279–2295).

2221. *Gong wei jyh hwu cherng shyh luann yee*. “The duke took the initiative with regard to the settling of this confusion.” (Hwan 2.4)
2222. *Jii jih shyh shyh erl chaur jy*. “/The marquis of Jih/ him self made an approach with regard to this matter and paid a court visit to him.” (Hwan 2.7)
2223. *Jonq shyh meng yee*. “/The earl of Jenq/ considered this covenant important.” (Shi 8.2)
2224. *Dah shyh shyh yee*. “/One/ considered this /sacrificial/ event of great importance.” (Wen 2.6)
2225. *Joan yeou shyh shinn jee*. “It was Joan who had this faith.” (Shiang 27.4)
2226. *Chyi ryh shann shyh meng yee*. “That /the *Chuenchiou*/ gives the day is due to the fact that it approved of this covenant.” (Jau 13.4)

2227. *Shyh yueh bwu yuh, tzer wu jyi yii.* "If this month should be without rain, then it would be too late." (Dinq 1.6)
2228. *Shyh nian bwu yih, tzer wu syh yii.* "If in this year there be no reaping, then there would no longer be /a sufficiency of/ food." (Dinq 1.6)
2229. *Jenq shyh ryh* "on that very day"
2230. *Shyh wu en iu shianjiun yee.* "This is to show lack of affection for the late lord." (Hwan 1.2)
2231. *Shyh bih yih ren shiann.* "One man must have taken the initiative in this." (Hwan 3.2)
2232. *Shyh lai yee.* "This one has come!" (Hwan 6.1)
2233. *Shyh Chyi hour Sonq gong yee.* "These /men/ were the marquis of Chyi and the duke of Sonq." (Juang 5.4; 13.1)
2234. *Shyh yeh jong yu?* "Did this /falling of the stars/ take place at midnight?" (Juang 7.3)
2235. *Shyh shianq jy shy yee.* "This was the army which had been employed on the previous occasion." (Shi 1.4)
2236. *Hwan juhaur yee, buh neng chaur tiantzyy, shyh buh chern yee.* "Hwan was a feudal lord and yet he failed to pay audience to the Son of Heaven. This meant that he was not a /true/ subject." (Shi 5.5)
2237. *Wei ren chern erl chin chyi jiun jy minq erl yonq jy, shyh buh chern yee.* "To be the subject of a lord and to usurp and use his command, that is not to act as a /true/ subject." (Shiuan 15.5)
2238. *Wang shyhtzyy, tzyy yee. Kuayran show juhaur jy tzuen jii erl lih hwu chyi wey, shyh buh tzyy yee.* "The term 'heir-son of the king' indicates that he was the son /of the king/. /For him/ singularly to receive the homage shown him by the feudal lords, and to occupy the position /of the king/, this means that he failed to act as a /true/ son." (Shi 5.5)
2239. *Shyh tzer biann jy jenq yee.* "This was the correct /procedure/ in /these/ extraordinary circumstances." (Shi 5.5)
2240. *Shyh yih biann jy jenq yee.* "This was also the correct /procedure/ in /these/ extraordinary circumstances." (Shi 5.5)
2241. *Shyh yih jiang sha woo hwu?* "Might this /man/ intend to kill me too?" (Shi 10.5)
2242. *Shyh her yeu woo ju shen yee?* "Why do you go to such depths in defying me?" (Shi 10.5)
2243. *Shyh yow jiang sha woo yee.* "This /man/ intends to kill me too!" (Shi 10.5)
2244. *Guoh erl buh gae, yow jy, shyh wey jy guoh.* "To commit a wrong and without attempting to rectify it, and to repeat the same wrong, that is indeed to commit a wrong!" (Shi 22.4)

2245. *Wu tian jee shyh wu tian erl shyng yee.* "The expression *wu tian* ('to lack Heaven') indicates that /duke Wen/ acted without regard to /the will of/ Heaven." (Wen 2.6)
2246. *Shyh Shih-keh yee.* "This was Shih-keh." (Wen 14.8)
2247. *Shyh but tzwu jee yee.* "This was someone who belonged to a category of men whose deaths were not /normally/ recorded /in the *Chuenchiou*/" (Shiuan 8.4)
2248. *Wei ren jiun erl shy chyi minq, shyh buh jiun yee.* "To be a ruler of men and to lose one's authority, that is to fail to be a ruler." (Shiuan 15.5)
2249. *Juhour meng, yow dahfu shiang yeu sy meng, shyh dahfu jan yee.* "For the great officers to covenant privately after a covenant among the feudal lords constitutes an imposition of the great officers." (Shiang 3.7)
2250. *Yeu ren chern mou sha chyi jiun, shyh yih shyh jiun jee yee.* "To plan regicide together with the subject of a ruler, that is also /to be guilty of/ regicide." (Shiang 27.4)
2251. *Jiun luh bwu ruh hwu Shii erl sha Shii, shyh jiun buh jyr hwu Shii yee.* "The ruler's reward was never received by Shii, who to the contrary was killed by the ruler. This indicates that the ruler failed to act straightforwardly towards Shii." (Shiang 27.4)
2252. *Chyi bwu ryh, tzyy dwo fuh jenq, shyh wey yi jy.* "That /the *Chuenchiou*/ does not give the day /of the assassination/ is due to the fact that the son usurped the governing functions of his father. This implies that /the *Chuenchiou*/ treats him as a barbarian." (Shiang 30.2)
2253. *Shyh ren yee.* "This is /the work of/ man." (Jau 18.2)
2254. *Shyh tianminq yee.* "This is the will of Heaven." (Jau 29.4)
2255. *Yu nian buh yan jyi wey, shyh yeou guh gong yee.* "When /the *Chuenchiou*/ fails to record the succession to the title which takes place in the year following that of the death of a ruler, this means that there did exist an old ruler /to whom the title could be applied/" (Dinq 1.4)
2256. *Yan jyi wey, shyh wu guh gong yee.* "When /the *Chuenchiou*/ records the succession to the title, this means that there was no old ruler /to whom the title could be applied/" (Dinq 1.4)
2257. *Shyh wey chyi shy chyong ren lih jinn yee.* "This is meant by the expression 'the season has come to an end and the strength of man has been exhausted.'" (Dinq 1.6)
2258. *Bih tzer you shyh yee.* "The jade *bih* is still the same." (Shi 2.3)
2259. *Wey shyh jiu Jau gong iu Nan-ying.* "On this account /he/ detained duke Jau in Nan-ying." (Dinq 4.14)
2260. *Wey shyh yuh shing shy erl fa Chuu.* "On this account /he/ wished to raise an army and attack Chuu." (Dinq 1.4)

2261. *Wey shyh shing shy erl fa Tsay*. "On this account he raised an army and attacked Tsay." (Dinq 1.4)
2262. *Wey shyh shing shy erl fa Chuu*. "On this account /he/ raised an army and attacked Chuu." (Dinq 1.4)
2263. *Woo jiang shy ruu iu shyh*.
2264. *Buh tzer yu gwo erl tao yu shyh yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not require that /the assassin/ be punished abroad in this case." (Hwan 18.5)
2265. *Ru shyh erl chenq yu chyan shyh yee*. "By using this /wording, the *Chuenchiou*/ makes it correspond to a previous event." (Shiang 2.5)
2266. *Yii shyh jy jiun jy ley jy yee*. "Thereby /we/ may know that the ruler followed him in death." (Hwan 2.2)
2267. *In shyh yii shiann suei yeou wen shyh bih yeou wuu bey*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ uses this event in order to make it clear that one must make military precautions even when engaged in civil affairs." (Dinq 10.3)
2268. *Yii shyh wei tao jy diing yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers this tripod /a bribe received upon/ the punishment /of Sonq/." (Hwan 2.5)
2269. *Yii shyh wei jinn guu yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers this /praxis/ to be near to the /praxis of/ the past." (Hwan 3.2)
2270. *Yii shyh wei shy neu yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers /that the duke took this opportunity/ to show off his women." (Juang 23.3)
2271. *Yii shyh wei Miin gong yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that this was /the shrine of/ duke Miin." (Shi 20.3)
2272. *Yii shyh wei sonq jiun yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers that this was a reprimand against the ruler." (Shi 30.3)
2273. *Yii shyh wei taur jiun yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers this tantamount to escaping from the army." (Wen 7.6)
2274. *Yii shyh wei luh Chyi yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ considers this a bribe given to Chyi." (Shiuan 1.8)
2275. *Jiuntzyy yii shyh wei tong en yee*. "The superior man considers this an example of all-embracing kindness." (Shiuan 17.8)
2276. *Tsay ren buh jy chyi shyh Chern jiun yee*. "The people of Tsay did not know that he was the ruler of Cherng." (Hwan 6.4)
2277. *Heryii jy chyi shyh Chern jiun yee?* "How do /we/ know that he was the ruler of Chern?" (Hwan 6.4)
2278. *Her yonq shiann chyi shyh Chyi hour yee?* "By what means does /the *Chuenchiou*/ make it clear that he was the marquis of Chyi?" (Shi 1.2)

2279. *Yii tann shianjiun jy shyh jyh erl suey yii yeu Hwan, tzer shyh cherng fuh jy eh yee.* "Since /Yiin/ had fathomed the perverted determination of the late lord and intended /eventually/ to hand over the title to Hwan, this was in fact to give full expression to his father's evil." (Yiin 1.1)
2280. *Der jonq tzer shyh shyan yee.* "Since /he/ had gained the support of the masses, /he/ must in fact have been worthy." (Yiin 4.7)
2281. *Jih guh erl yan jyi wey, tzer shyh yuh wen hwu shyh yee.* "When the term *jyi wey* ('to succeed to the title') is used of the successor to an assassinated ruler, this indicates that the successor was an accomplice in the assassination." (Hwan 1.2)
2282. *Woo jiann chyi yeun erl jie iu dih jee tzer shyh yeu shuo yee.* "When we see something that falls and hits the ground, then we may use the expression *yeu* ('rain')." (Juang 7.3)
2283. *Jann tzer shyh shy yee.* "In battles /the opposing parties/ are in fact armies." (Juang 28.1)
2284. *Wuh chyi jaang yee, jian buh faan chyi jonq, tzer shyh chih chyi shy yee.* "/Since the earl of Jenq/ detested his commander and at the same time refused his troops to return, this in fact amounted to abandoning his army." (Miin 2.8; my rendering of this passage is tentative.)
2285. *Ru show wu bih erl jieh wu daw, tzer shyh woo cheu jy jong fuu erl tsarng jy way fuu.* "If /the duke of Yu/ does receive our presents and grants us the right of transit, then that would mean that we remove our treasures from an inner treasury and deposit them in an outer treasury." (Shi 2.3)
2286. *Chyi buh yan shyy, chyuan tzay Chiu-wan yee. Tzer shyh jenq hwu?* "That /the Chuenchiou/ does not use the expression *shyy* ('to command') indicates that the authority rested with Chiu-wan. Would this then be correct?" (Shi 4.4)
2287. *Bor Ji wei jyh hwu chaur chyi tzyy, tzer shyh Chii bor shy fu jy daw yii.* "Since the eldest daughter /of the marquis of Luu who was married to the earl of Chii/ had made it her ambition to introduce her son at the court /of Luu/, this indicates in fact that the earl of Chii had deviated from the way of a husband." (Shi 5.2)
2288. *Yii chyi buh jiau min jann, tzer shyh chih chyi shy yee.* "/Since the duke of Sonq/ neglected to instruct his people in warfare, this in fact amounted to abandoning his army." (Shi 23.2)
2289. *Nih syh tzer shyh wu chaur muh yee.* "If one violated the sacrifices this would in fact indicate lack of respect for the shrines in the ancestral temple." (Wen 2.6)
2290. *Wu chaur muh, tzer shyh wu tzuu yee.* "If one does not respect the shrines in the ancestral temple, this would in fact mean that one had no forefathers." (Wen 2.6)

2291. *Yii Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy jy muu wei jyh, tzer shyh Chyi hour jy muu yee.* "As for giving you Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy's mother as a hostage, she is actually the mother of the marquis of Chyi." (Cherng 2.4)
2292. *Shyy geng jee jinn dong chyi muu, tzer shyh jong tuu Chyi yee.* "To order our farmers to make all the field divisions run from east to west, that is actually the same as ultimately giving you all the land of Chyi." (Cherng 2.4)
2293. *Chiing daw chiuw ranq yee, tzer shyh shee chyi suoo yii wei ren yee.* "By divorcing ritual yielding from the practice of entreating one sets aside that which makes a man into a man." (Dinq 1.6)
2294. *Guey chyi yii dih faan, tzer shyh dah lih yee.* "Since the *Chuenciou*/ values the fact that /he/ returned and submitted the /seized/ territory /to Jinn/, this indicates in fact that /the territory/ was considered greatly profitable." (Dinq 13.7)
2295. *Shinn fuh erl tsyr wang fuh, tzer shyh buh tzuen wang fuh yee.* "If one rejects /the will of/ one's grandfather in order to accommodate /the will of/ one's father, this means in fact that one shows disrespect for one's grandfather." (Ai 2.6)

12.5 The determinative GS 45p *tjo* (*tjag*) /ju, "all; the various"

12.5.1 *Gongyang ju*, "all; the various", is found in the following nominal expressions: *juhour*, "the various feudal lords"; *ju dahfu*, "the various great officers"; *jugong*, "the various ducal ministers"; *jushiah*, "the various Chinese states"; *ju fuh shiong shy yeou*, "the various paternal uncles, teachers and friends". In addition we find the following instances of determinative *ju* (2:2296-2297).

2296. *Guh ju wei jiun jee jie ching syy wei yeong.* "Therefore all /brothers/ who served as rulers disregarded death and performed brave deeds." (Shiang 29.8)
2297. *Ju Yang jy tsorng jee* "All the followers of the Yang faction" (Dinq 8.16)

The expression *Chyi ju x yu?*, "Could it perhaps be x?" is discussed elsewhere (see sentences 7-12). *Gongyang ju* also represents a fusion of GS 962a *tjag/jy* and GS 61e *jo(·jag)/iu* (12:2298-2308).

2298. *Guey tzer chyi cheng ren her? Shih ju ren yee. Herwey shih ju ren? Wang ren eel.* "Since he was noble, why is he referred to as a /common/ man? /The *Chuenchiou*/ connects him with /common/ men. Why so? He was the king's man." (Juang 6.1)
2299. *Saan sheh ju gong jong.* "Duke Juang/ let him loose and confined him to the interior of the palace." (Juang 12.4)

2300. *Jiann jee chyong ju ren*. "As to those who hold a low rank /the *Chuenchiou*/ reduces them to /the level of/ common men." (Wen 16.7)
2301. *Jiann jee chyong ju daw*. "As to those who hold low rank /the *Chuenchiou*/ reduces them to /the level of/ bandits." (Wen 16.7)
2302. *Way chyr ju jingshy erl mean jy*. "Abroad he managed it (sc. the involvement of the earl of Tsaur) in the capital and effected his release." (Cherng 16.10)
2303. *Shyh ju Jinn yee*. "/The of Chyn/ had made him serve as an officer in Jinn." (Jau 1.4)
2304. *Herwey shyh ju Jinn?* "Why did /he/ make him serve as an officer in Jinn?" (Jau 1.4)
2305. *Shyh jiun jiann jee chyong ju ren*. "In the case of regicide those /assassins/ who hold a mean rank are reduced to the level of a /common/ man." (Ai 4.1)
2306. *Chern-chii shyy ren yng Yang-sheng, yu ju chyi jia*. "Chern-chii sent someone to bring back Yang-sheng and put him up in his home." (Ai 6.8)
2307. *Bo luannshyh faan ju jenq*. "/This/ was in order to bring order in a time of disturbance and to effect a return to the correct path." (Ai 14.1)
2308. *Moh jinn ju Chuenchiou*. "Nothing comes closer /to the correct order/ than /the doctrine laid down in/ the *Chuenchiou*." (Ai 14.1)

12.5.2 *Guuliang ju*, "all; the various", is found in the following nominal expressions: *juhour*, "the various feudal lords"; *ju dahfu*, "the various great officers"; *jugong*, "the various ducal ministers"; *ju muu shiongdi*, "all the maternal aunts", and *ju chern*, "all the ministers". *Guuliang ju* also represents a fusion of GS *tjæg/jy* and GS 61e *·io(·iæg)/iu* (2:2309-2310), and a fusion of *tjæg/jy* and GS 55a *g'o/g'æg)/hwu* (1:2311).

2309. *Yii ju Hwan yee*. "/The *Chuenchiou*/ represents him as different from /duke/ Hwan /of Chyi/." (Juang 31.5)
2310. *Woo jiang wenn ju jiang*. "I shall ask /the Spirit of/ the River about this." (Shi 4.4)
2311. *Yng jee shyng jiann ju? Sheh jiann ju?* (It is quite clear that *ju* here equals *jy+hwu* and that the passage must be interpreted as a disjunctive question. In an earlier paper (Malmqvist 1971, p. 139) I translate as follows: "As for his meeting /his bride/, did he in fact see her, or did he give up seeing her?" In a note to that translation I added: "My first attempt at translating this passage reads as follows: "As to this meeting, did he meet her on the road, or did he meet her at the resting place?". I now prefer the second alternative, reading *sheh* for *shee*.) (Juang 24.4)

12.6 The demonstrative determinative GS 25g *pia/bii*, “that; those; they”

12.6.1 There are seven occurrences of *bii*, “that; those; they” in the *Gongyang* (7:2312-2317).

2312. *Bii chyi iue dah yeou nian her?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ in that /other entry/ state that there was an exceedingly good year?” (Hwan 3.10)

2313. *Fei bii ran, woo ran yee.* “/This signifies that/ we were so, not they.” (Juang 23.10)

2314. *Wanq meng hwu bii yee.* “/We/ went forward and covenanted at their place.” (Shi 3.6)

2315. *Bii her yee?* “What is that?” (Shiuan 6.1)

2316. *Goou yeou leu Wei dih shyh Wei suh jee, mey jyh bii shyh.* “If any one /of us/ ever again treads the soil of Wei or eats the grain of Wei, may the fate of that slaughtered pheasant be his!” (Shiang 27.4)

2317. *Bii tzai! Bii tzai!* “Oh, that one! Oh, that one!” (Dinq 8.16)

12.6.2 There are two occurrences of *bii*, “that; those; they”, in the *Guuliang* (2:2318-2319)

2318. *Bii bwu jieh wu daw, ...* “If they do not lend us a way /through *their* territory/ ...” (Shi 2.3)

2319. *Bii buh syy, tzer woo syy yii.* “If those /sons of ours/ do not die /there/, we will be dead /when they return/.” (Shi 33.3)

12.7 The demonstrative determinative GS 101a *b’iwo (b’iwag)/fwu*, “this; that”

12.7.1 *Gongyang fwu* serves as a determinative (6:2320-2324), and as a sentence initial particle (2:2325-2326). For one occurrence of *fwu* as a sentence suffix see sentence 518.

2320. *Fwu her gaan?* “What would that one dare /to do/?” (Juang 32.3)

2321. *Eel jih sha fwu ell rutzyy yii.* “You have already killed those two young princes.” (Shi 10.5)

2322. *Fwu been herwey chu hwu guei?* “Why should that basket appear from the inner apartments?” (Shiuan 6.1)

2323. *Yeou fwu buh shyang, jiun wu suoo ruh dah lii.* “Even though you have /suffered/ this misfortune, there is no reason why should humble yourself by /an excessive display of/ courtesy.” (Jau 25.7)

2324. *Fwu rutzyy der gwo erl yii.* “That youngster has gained control over the state, that is all!” (Dinq 8.16)

2325. *Fwu fuh ji jyr, jyr fu jyh, tsorng jiun dong shi nan beei, tzer shyh chern pwu shuh nieh jy shyh yee.* “Now, to shoulder the halters and the reins, to

carry the axe and the chopping block and to follow his ruler wherever he may go, those are the duties of simple servants and sons and concubines.” (Shiang 27.4)

2326. *Fwu chian shenq jy juu, jiang fey jenq erl lih bwu jenq, bih sha jenq jee.* “Now, when the master of a thousand chariots is about to discard the true heir and establish someone who has no right to succeed him, then he invariably kills the true heir.” (Ai 6.8)

12.7.2 *Guuliang fwu* serves as a determinative (1:2327), and as a sentence initial particle (4:2328-2331).

2327. *Woo yuh fwu shyh jee.* “I participated in this assassination.” (Jau 19.2)
2328. *Fwu yii duo hwu daw.* “Now, to desist /from the mission/ would have been more in accordance with the correct principles.” (Hwan 9.4; My rendering of this passage is highly tentative.)
2329. *Fwu charng bih yeou jian shyun jy shyh yan.* “Now, the preparations for the Autumnal sacrifice would necessarily extend over two ten-day periods.” (Hwan 14.5)
2330. *Fwu jea fei ren ren suoo neng wei yee.* “Now, coats of arms are not what every man can make.” (Cherng 1.4)
2331. *Fwu chiing jee fei kee yi tuo erl wanq jee.* “As to this request /the lord/ may not delegate /someone/ to go forward /with it/. (Dinq 1.6)

12.8 The determinative GS 625a *b’i_wam/farn*, “every; all; in every case; whenever”

12.8.1 There are four occurrences of *farn* in the *Gongyang* (4:2332-2335).

2332. *Guh farn Yiin jy lih, wey Hwan lih yee.* “Therefore, that Yiin allowed himself to be established as ruler was to all intents and purposes for the sake of Hwan.” (Yiin 1.1)
2333. *Farn tzay eel.* “All rested with you.” (Shiang 27.4)
2334. *Farn wey Jih-tzyy guh yee.* “/This/ was all on account of /you,/ Jih-tzyy.” (Shiang 29.8)
2335. *Farn wey Sonq tzai guh yee.* “/This/ was all on account of the fire in Sonq.” (Shiang 30.9)

12.8.1 There is one occurrence of *farn* in the *Guuliang* (1:2336).

2336. *Farn cherng jy jyh jie ji yee.* “All entries concerning the walling of cities imply criticism.” (Yiin 7.3)

12.9 The determinative GS 777a *ñiak/ruoh*, “such”

12.9.1 There are four occurrences of determinative *ruoh* in the *Gongyang* (4:2337-2340).

2337. *Yeou ming tiantzyy, tzer Shiang gong der wei ruoh shyng hwu?* “Would it have been possible for duke Shiang to act in such a manner if there had been an enlightened Son of Heaven?” (Juang 4.4)
2338. *Herwey yii way ney torng ruoh tsyr?* “Why is such an expression used with regard both to the Exterior and the Interior?” (Shi 26.5)
2339. *Jiun ru yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh shyr kee yii.* “If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time /as this/ will do.” (Dinq 4.14)
2340. *Jyh hwu ryh, ruoh shyr erl chu.* “When it came to that day /Jih-suen/ left /for his rendez-vous with Yang-huu/ at such time /as had been agreed upon/.” (Dinq 8.16)

12.9.2 There is no occurrence of determinative *ruoh* in the *Guuliang*. The following sentence (1:2341) and the *Gongyang* sentence 2339 may well represent slightly different paraphrases of a common source.

2341. *Jiun ruoh yeou iou jong gwo jy shin, tzer ruoh tsyy shyr kee yii.* “If you, my lord, grieve for the central states, then such a time as this will do.” (Dinq 4.14)

13.0 Interrogatives

13.1 The interrogative pronoun GS 575u *âiwər/ sheir*, “who?”

13.1.1 There are three occurrences of *sheir* in the *Gongyang* (3:2342-2344).

2342. *In sheir jy lih?* “On whose strength did he rely?” (Yiin 10.6)
2343. *Sheir wey wu shyh jiun jee yee?* “Who says that I am the one who assassinated the lord?” (Shiuan 6.1)
2344. *Tzyy ming wei sheir?* “Who are you? /What is your name?” (Shiuan 6.1)

13.1.2 There are two occurrences of *sheir* in the *Guuliang* (2:2345-2346).

2345. *Fei tzyy erl sheir?* “If you did not /assassinate the duke/, then who did?” (Shiuan 2.4)
2346. *Chyi nih jee sheir yee?* “Who was the one who met her?” (Wen 4.2; we expect: *Nih jy jee sheir yee?*)

13.2 The interrogative pronoun GS 1026a *âiôk/shwu*, “who?; which one?”

13.2.1 *Gongyang shwu* functions (a) as subject (22:2347-2362); (b) as an object placed before the verb (12:2363-2373), and (c) as a prepositional object (4:2374-2376).

2347. *Shwu jyi jy?* "Who was the other participant /in the meeting?" (Yiin 1.5)
2348. *Ran tzer shwu lih jy?* "If so, who set him up as ruler?" (Yiin 4.7)
2349. *Shwu mieh jy?* "Who extinguished it?" (Juang 4.4; Shi 2.1; 14.1; 17.2)
2350. *Shwu shyh Tzyy Ban?* "Who assassinated Tzyy Ban?" (Miin 1.1)
2351. *Shwu shyh jy?* "Who assassinated him?" (Miin 2.3; Shiang 7.9)
2352. *Shwu wang jy?* "Who caused it to perish?" (Shi 1.2)
2353. *Ran tzer shwu cherng jy?* "If so, who walled it?" (Shi 2.1; 14.1)
2354. *Ran tzer shwu lih Huey gong?* "If so, who established duke Huey?" (Shi 10.5)
2355. *Shwu cherng jy?* "Who walled it?" (Shi 14.1)
2356. *Shwu jyr jy?* "Who seized him?" (Shi 21.4)
2357. *Shwu bay jy?* "Who defeated it?" (Cherng 1.6)
2358. *Shwu wei jy?* "Who was responsible for it?" (Cherng 15.2)
2359. *Shwu shuh jy?* "Who guarded it?" (Shiang 5.9; 10.9)
2360. *Shwu jiun erl wu cheng?* "Who can be a ruler and yet be at a loss for words?" (Jau 25.7)
2361. *Ran tzer shwu show jy?* "If so, who was the one who hunted it?" (Ai 14.1)
2362. *Tzyy yii dahgwo ia jy, tzer wey jy Chyi Jinn shwu yeou jy yee.* "If you subdue it (sc. the state of Julih) with the /military might of your/ great state, it is too early to tell which /state/ will control it /in the end/, Chyi or Jinn." (Wen 14.8)
2363. *Wang jee shwu wey?* "To whom does the term *wang* ('king') refer?" (Yiin 1.1)
2364. *Shwu wey?* "To whom does /this/ refer?" (Hwan 6.1; 6.5)
2365. *Shwu yiin?* "Commiserate with whom?" (Juang 1.1)
2366. *Shwu jih?* "Whom did he succeed?" (Miin 1.1)
2367. *Shwu cherng?* "What city did /they/ wall?" (Shi 2.1)
2368. *Shwu syh?* "For whom did /they/ wait?" (Shi 4.2)
2369. *Tzyy tzwu jee shwu wey?* "To whom does /the entry/ *Tzyy tzwu* ('The son died') refer?" (Wen 18.6)
2370. *Ran tzer Ing-Chyi shwu how?* "If so, from whom did Ing-chyi descend?" (Cherng 15.2)
2371. *Shyan jee shwu wey?* "To whom does the expression *shyan* ('worthy') apply?" (Jau 31.6)
2372. *Daw jee shwu wey?* "To whom does the expression *daw* ('robber') refer?" (Dinq 8.16)
2373. *Jiann hwu jiann jee shwu wey?* "To whom does the expression 'more mean than the mean' refer?" (Ai 4.1)
2374. *Wu jiun shwu wey jie?* "For whose sake does my ruler call out the guard?" (Shiuan 6.1)

2375. *Wu shwu yeu chuu yu tsyy?* “With whom shall I remain here?” (Shiuan 15.2)

2376. *Shwu wey lai tzai?* “For whose sake has it come?” (Ai 14.1, 2 instances)

13.2.2 *Guuliang shwu* functions (a) as subject (6:2377-2382), and (b) as an object placed before the verb (1:2383).

2377. *Shwu kee shyy?* “Which /great officer/ could be employed?” (Shi 10.5)

2378. *Shwu mieh jy?* “Who extinguished it?” (Shi 17.2)

2379. *Shwu wey (wei=) Duenn erl reen shyh chyi jiun jee yee?* “Who would be /a man like me,/ Duenn and yet be cruel enough to assassinate his ruler?” (Shiuan 2.4; the text has *wey*, “to say; to state”, with which reading *erl* appears anomalous.)

2380. *Ran tzer shwu bay jy?* “If so, who defeated it?” (Cherng 1.6)

2381. *Shiah shwu gaan yeou jy?* “Of the subordinates who would dare to control it?” (Cherng 12.1)

2382. *Shwu guei jy?* “Who contributed it (sc. the grain)?” (Dinq 5.2)

2383. *Chyi min shwu yii wei jiun tzai?* “Whom would his people /then/ consider as their ruler?” (Shi 23.2)

13.3 The interrogative pronoun GS 313d *g’ât/her*, “what?”, occurs only in the *Gongyang*. For the expression *herwey*, “why?”, which is found in formulaic questions, see *Malmqvist* 1975, p. 39. *Gongyang her* also functions as an object placed before the verb (6:2384-2389).

2384. *Ran tzer her cheng?* “To whom, then, were references made?” (Yiin 2.5)

2385. *Ran tzer her yonq?* “If so, what should have been used?” (Juang 24.6)

2386. *Ran tzer her jih?* “If so, to whom are the sacrifices offered?” (Shi 31.3)

2387. *Eel her jy?* “What do you know?” (Shi 33.3)

2388. *Juu jee her yonq?* “What /material/ was used for the spirit tablets?” (Wen 2.2)

2389. *Ran tzer jiau her yonq?* “At what time was the *Jiau* sacrifice performed?” (Cherng 17.6)

13.4 The interrogative pronoun GS *g’â/her*, “what?”, commonly occurs in formulaic questions (see *Malmqvist* 1975, pp. 38-40. Selected occurrences of *her* will be treated below.

13.4.1 The expression *nay her?*, “under what circumstances”, may represent a fusion of GS 777a *ñjak/ruoh* and *g’â/her*, or of *ñjak-ñjag-g’â/ruoh jy her*.

13.4.1.1 In the majority of instances *Gongyang nay her* is preceded by a marked predication, functioning as subject (61:2390-2440); in five instances *nay her* is

preceded by an unmarked predication as subject (5:2441-2445). The sequence *ran tzer nay her* is found twice (2:2446). In one instance *nay her* seems to equal *her* (1:2447). In two instances *nay her* occurs at the beginning of a sentence (2:2448-2449).

2390. *Tsyy chyi wei kee bau nay her?* "Under what circumstances may he /here/ be represented as worthy of praise?" (Yiin 1.2)
2391. *Chyi yuh shyh gong nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he participate in the assassination of the duke?" (Yiin 4.5; Juang 1.2)
2392. *Liow yeu jy wei jiann nay her?* "Under what circumstances may the use of six plumes be considered a usurpation?" (Yiin 5.5)
2393. *Chyi yih nay her?* "Under what circumstances was it easy?" (Yiin 10.6; Juang 13.4; Cherng 16.10; Ai 9.2; 13.1)
2394. *Tsyy chyi wei jinn jenq nay her?* "Under what circumstances may this be considered approaching the correct norm?" (Hwan 3.2; Shiuan 1.5)
2395. *Chyi jiann nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he behave in a mean manner?" (Hwan 6.4)
2396. *Chyi cherng shyh hwu woo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he complete his mission as an envoy to our state?" (Hwan 8.6)
2397. *Chyi wei jy chyuan nay her?* "Under what circumstances was he considered to know how to weigh /and evaluate/ circumstances?" (Hwan 11.4)
2398. *Chyi der tzuey yu tiantzyy nay her?* "Under what circumstances was he guilty of an offence against the Son of Heaven?" (Hwan 16.5)
2399. *Chyi fwu tzuey nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he take the penalty upon himself?" (Juang 3.4)
2400. *Tsyy chyi wei kee tzanq nay her?* "Under what circumstances was it here considered proper to bury her?" (Juang 4.5)
2401. *Chyi ranq hwu woo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did /Chyi/ yield /these precious objects/ to us?" (Juang 6.5)
2402. *Chyi guey nay her?* "Under what circumstances was he noble?" (Juang 9.7; Wen 12.3)
2403. *Chyi bwu wey chyang yuh nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he not fear the strong and the refactory?" (Juang 12.4)
2404. *Chyi nan nay her?* "Under what circumstances was it difficult?" (Juang 24.5)
2405. *Chyi uei woo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he intimidate us?" (Juang 31.4)
2406. *Jih-tzyy jy eh eh nay her?* "Under what circumstances did Jih-tzyy prevent an evil deed?" (Juang 32.3)
2407. *Chyi jenq woo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he treat us correctly?" (Miin 2.6)

2408. *Chyi yuh way nann yii jenq nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he ward off external difficulties according to the correct norm?” (Shi 1.9)
2409. *Chyi show luh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he accept bribes?” (Shi 2.3)
2410. *Chyi bih jiun jy daw nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he violate the military norm?” (Shi 4.5)
2411. *Chyi chuu chyi suoo erl chiing yuh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he stay where he was and request leave to take part /in the covenant/?” (Shi 8.2)
2412. *Chyi yan yii chieh wei chi nay her?* “Under what circumstances does /the Chuenchiou/ state that /he/ took his concubine as his wife?” (Shi 8.4)
2413. *Chyi buh shyr chyi yan nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he not go back on his words?” (Shi 10.3)
2414. *Chyi yonq jy sheh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he use him at the altar of the Spirit of the land?” (Shi 19.3)
2415. *Chyi tzyh wang nay her?* “Under what circumstances did it destroy itself?” (Shi 19.7)
2416. *Chyi shenn eh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he behave in an extremely evil manner?” (Shi 28.4)
2417. *Chyi ranq gwo nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he yield /the control over his/ state?” (Shi 28.19; Shiang 29.8; Jau 20.2; Jau 31.6)
2418. *Chyi buh shyr nay her?* “Under what circumstances was it untimely?” (Wen 2.2)
2419. *Chyi her jih nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he offer joint sacrifices?” (Wen 2.6)
2420. *Chyi nih syh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he violate /the rules of/ the sacrifices?” (Wen 2.6)
2421. *Chyi wei shiuan nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he act with deceit?” (Wen 3.7)
2422. *Chyi low yan nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he give away a confidence?” (Wen 6.8)
2423. *Chyi way nay her?* “Under what circumstances was he abroad?” (Wen 7.6)
2424. *Chyi wei neng biann nay her?* “Under what circumstances was he considered capable of changing?” (Wen 12.6)
2425. *Jaw Duenn jy fuh gwo nay her?* “Under what circumstances did Jaw Duenn return to the capital?” (Shiuan 6.1)
2426. *Chyi yih huoh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he escape being captured?” (Cherng 2.4)
2427. *Chyi day gong jyr nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he seize /him/ on behalf of the duke?” (Cherng 16.11)

2482. *Chyi wey Sonq ju nay her?* "Under what circumstances did they execute punishment for the sake of Sonq?" (Shiang 1.2)
2429. *Yu-shyr jy tzuey nay her?* "Under what circumstances was Yu-shyr guilty of a crime?" (Shiang 1.2; we expect: *Yu-shyr jy yeou tzuey nay her?*)
2430. *Chyi cheu how hwu Jeu nay her?* "Under what circumstances did they /wish to/ fetch their descendants from Jeu?" (Shiang 5.3)
2431. *Chyi wey Chyi ju nay her?* "Under what circumstances did they execute /him/ for the sake of Chyi?" (Jau 4.3)
2432. *Chyi yonq jy Farnq nay her?* "Under what circumstances did they use him at Farnq?" (Jau 11.10)
2433. *Chyi ji tzyy daw jy bwu jinn nay her?* "Under what circumstances does /the Chuenchiou/ criticize /him/ for not having fulfilled all his duties as a son?" (Jau 19.5)
2434. *Chyi iou jong gwo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he grieve for the central states?" (Dinq 4.14)
2435. *Tsyy chyi wei kee yii fuh chour nay her?* "Under what circumstances may this be considered a proper occasion for revenge?" (Dinq 4.14)
2436. *Chyi faan Yi Dyi nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he revert to /the ways of/ the Yi and the Dyi barbarians?" (Dinq 4.16)
2437. *Chyi yii dih jenq gwo nay her?* "Under what circumstances did he use his territory to rectify his state?" (Dinq 13.7)
2438. *Tsyy chyi wei bor tao nay her?* "Under what circumstances is he here considered as having executed the punishing power of an overlord?" (Ai 3.1)
2439. *Chyi kee nay her?* "Under what circumstances was this permissible?" (Ai 3.1)
2440. *Tsyy chyi wei shiuan nay her?* "Under what circumstances did they act with deceit?" (Ai 6.8)
2441. *Chyi yih shyng iu seh nay her?* "Under what circumstances did his righteousness manifest itself in his outward appearance?" (Hwan 2.2)
2442. *Gong yuh wei eel nay her?* "Under what circumstances did the duke participate in the undertaking?" (Shi 21.8)
2443. *Wen gong wei jy nay her?* "Under what circumstances did duke Wen create it?" (Shi 28.19)
2444. *Gong shy shiuh nay her?* "Under what circumstances did the duke lose his place /among the feudal lords/?" (Wen 7.8)
2445. *Gong tzuoh shyng nay her?* "Under what circumstances did the duke resume his journey?" (Cherng 1313)
2446. *Ran tzer nay her?* "If this is so, what can be done?" (Yiin 4.5; Shi 2.3)

2447. *Chi san jiun jee, chyi faa nay her?* “What does the law prescribe for one who cheats /the commander of/ the three armies?” (Cherng 2.4)

2448. *Nay her shyy renjiun chi nian buh yiin jeou?* “How could one make a ruler of men abstain from wine for seven years?” (Cherng 8.1)

2449. *Nay her jiun chiuu Luu gwo jy sheh jih?* “Under what circumstances did you leave the Spirit of your land, my lord?” (Jau 25.7)

13.4.1.2 In the majority of instances *Guuliang nay her* is preceded by a marked predication as subject (9:2450-2458). In two instances the subject of the included predication functioning as subject has been omitted (2:2459-2460). In two instances *nay her* occurs in conjunction with GS 21a *ngia/yi*, “to be proper” (2:2461-2462). One occurrence of *nay her* is anomalous (1:2463).

2450. *Chyi piifu shyng nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he behave like a vulgar fellow?” (Hwan 6.4)

2451. *Chyi sha jy buh yii chyi tzuey nay her?* “Under what circumstances did he kill him for the wrong crime?” (Shi 10.5)

2452. *Chyi wey Chorng-eel shyh nay her?* “Under what circumstances did /Lii-keh/ assassinate /the two princes/ for the sake of Chorng-eel?” (Shi 10.5)

2453. *Chyi shenn nay her?* “Under what circumstances was /the calamity/ extreme?” (Wen 3.5)

2454. *Yih-hu jy sha nay her?* “Under what circumstances did Yih-gu kill /Yang Chuh-fuu/?” (Wen 6.7)

2455. *Chyi shiann yii tzai tzuu nay her?* “Under what circumstances does /the Chuenchiou/ make it appear that she died in the fire?” (Shiang 30.3)

2456. *Chyi shinn jong gwo erl rang Yi Dyi nay her?* “Under what circumstances did /the viscount of Wu/ have faith in the central states and repel the Yi and the Dyi barbarians?” (Dinq 4.14)

2457. *Chyi yuh tswen Chuu nay her?* “Under what circumstances does /the Chuenchiou/ wish to preserve Chuu?” (Dinq 4.16)

2458. *Chyi uei nay her?* “Under what circumstances was he in danger?” (Dinq 10.3)

2459. *Tswen Suey nay her?* “Under what circumstances does /the Chuenchiou/ wish to/ preserve Suey?” (Juang 17.2)

2460. *Wei jy nay her?* “What course of action should /he/ follow in this matter?” (Cherng 5.4)

2461. *Ran tzer wei Jenq bor jee yi nay her?* “Since this is so, what course of action would have been proper for someone like the earl of Jenq?” (Yiin 1.3)

2562. *Ran tzer wei Shyh-gay jee yi nay her?* “Since this is so, what course of action would have been proper for someone like Shyh-gay?” (Shiang 19.8)

2463. *Day jee nay her?* “Under what circumstances did /he/ resort to trickery?” (Shi 1.9; we expect: *Chyi day nay her?*)

13.4.2 The expression *ru her?* “Under what circumstances?; in what way?”

13.4.2.1 The expression *ru her?* occurs once in the *Gongyang* (1:2464).

2464. *Tzyy fei shyh jiun ru her?* “If this was not to assassinate the ruler, then what is?” (Shiuan 6.1)

13.4.2.2. The expression *ru her?* occurs once in the *Guuliang* (1:2465).

2465 *Shieh-yeh jy wu tzuey ru her?* “Under what circumstances was Shieh-yeh without guilt?” (Shiuan 9.14)

13.4.3 The expression *ru jy her?*, “what about it?; how about it?”

13.4.3.1 The expression *ru jy her?* occurs four times in the *Gongyang* (4:2466-2469)

2466. *Wu yuh gong Guo tzer Yu jiow jy; gong Yu, tzer Guo jiow jy. Ru jy her?* “I want to attack Guo, but then Yu will come to the rescue. If I attack Yu, then Guo will come to the rescue. What can be done about this?” (Shi 2.3)

2467. *Nuoh. Swei ran, Gong Jy-chyi tswen yan, ru jy her?* “I agree. But even so, Gong Jy-chyi is there. How about him?” (Shi 2.3)

2468. *Jiun sha jenq erl lih bwu jenq, fey jaang erl lih yow, ru jy her?* “The /late/ lord killed the rightful heir and appointed a wrong person in his stead; he discarded his eldest son and set up a younger son. What can be done about this?” (Shi 10.3)

2469. *Jiun yow ru jy her?* “What can be done about the fact that the ruler is young?” (Cherng 15.2)

13.4.3.2 The expression *ru jy her?* occurs three times in the *Guuliang* (3:2470-2472).

2470. *Ru chow wu bih erl bwu jieh wu daw, tzer ru jy her?* “If /the duke of Yu/ receives our presents, but refuses us the right of transit, what then?” (Shi 2.3)

2471. *Swei jaw Bor-tzuen ru jy her?* “Even though /the ruler/ summons Bor-tzuen, what can be done about it?, (Cherng 5.4)

2472. *Buu jy buh jy ru jy her?* “What is to be done if the divination should give an inauspicious result?” (Ai 1.4)

13.4.4 The expression *her ru?* “What about it?” occurs six times in the *Gongyang* (6:2473-2478).

2473. *Jiun jy yih her ru?* “How do you, Sir, feel about this?” (Juang 13.4)
2474. *Cherng jy mou her ru?* “How did you like my scheme?” (Shi 2.3)
2475. *Shyh her ru tzer kee wey jy shinn yii?* “In what manner should an officer behave in order to deserve to be regarded as trustworthy?” (Shi 10.3)
2476. *Tzyy jy gwo her ru?* “How is the situation in your state?” (Shiuan 15.2)
2477. *Wu yuh shyh jy her ru?* “I wish to assassinate him. What do you think about that?” (Jau 25.7)
2478. *Wu yuh lih Sheh her ru?* “I wish to establish Sheh. What about it?” (Ai 6.8)

13.4.5 The expression *her guh?*, “for what reason?” occurs twice in the *Gongyang* (2:2479-2480).

2479. *Her guh bar jiann iu jiun suoo?* “Why do you bare your sword at the ruler’s court?” (Shiuan 6.1)
2480. *Her guh syy wu tiantzyy?* “Why do you treat the /late/ Son of Heaven as dead?” (Jau 31.6)

13.4.6 The expression *her yong?*, “on what grounds?”; by what means?”, occurs eight times in the *Guuliang* (8:2481-2486).

2481. *Her yonq shiann chyi wey yih tzai jy yu erl charng yee?* “How does it appear /from the wording of the *Chuenchiou*/ that the Autumnal sacrifice was performed in spite of the fact that the grain left over from the fire had not yet been exchanged?” (Hwan 14.5)
2482. *Her yonq fwu show yee?* “On what grounds did /they/ refuse to admit him?” (Juang 6.2; Shiuan 11.6; Ai 2.6)
2483. *Her yonq jiann chyi jong yee?* “How did /the recorder/ perceive that it was midnight?” (Juang 7.3)
2484. *Her yonq bwu show yee?* “On what grounds did /they/ refuse to receive /her/?” (Juang 24.5)
2485. *Her yonq shiann chyi shyh Chyi hour yee?* “By what means it it revealed that he was the marquis of Chyi?” (Shi 1.2)
2486. *Her yonq fwu show?* “On what grounds did /they/ refuse to receive /him/?” (Ai 6.8)

13.4.7 The expression *her wey?*, “why?”, is exceedingly common in the formulaic questions of the *Guuliang*. Only one occurrence of this expression is found in the *Gongyang* (1:2487).

2487 *Ran tzer her wey bwu lih Kuay-way erl lih Jer?* “If so, why did /he/ not establish Kuay-way and instead establish Jer as ruler?” (Ai 3.1)

13.4.8 The expression *her buh?*, “why not?”

13.4.8.1 The expression *her buh* is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:2488).

2488. *Her buh hwan shy bin hae erl dong?* “Why do /you/ not make your army revert and march eastward along the coast of the sea?” (Shi 4.5)

13.4.8.2 The expression *her buh?* is found once in the *Guuliang* (1:2489).

2489. *Jiun her buh yii Chiu chaan jy shenq Chwei-jyi jy bih erl jieh daw hwu Yu yee?* “Why do you not use your team of horses from Chiu and your jade disque from Chwei-jyi /as a bribe/ and request the right of transit from /the duke of/ Yu?” (Shi 4.5)

13.4.9 The expression *her bih*, “Why necessarily?”, is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:2490/).

2490. *Her bih yii Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy wei jyh?* “Why should it be necessary to make Shiau Torng Jyr-tzyy your hostage?” (Cherng 2.5)

13.4.10 The expression *her jee?*, “and why”, is found once in the *Gongyang* (1:2491).

2491 *Her jee?* “And why?” (Hwan 2.5)

13.5 The interrogative adverb GS 146a *d/an*, “where?; how?” occurs three times in the *Guuliang* (3:2492-2494).

2492. *An jann yee?* “Where was the battle fought?” (Juang 28.1)

2493. *An tzwu shu yee?* “How could this warrant recording?” (Shiang 12.1)

2494. *An jyh jy?* “Where does one place it?” (Ai 1.4)

13.6 The interrogative adverb GS 200a *·jan/ian*, “where?, how?”

13.6.1 The interrogative adverb *ian* occurs once in the *Gongyang* (1:2495)

2495. *Wu jiang ian jyh hwu Luu gwo?* “To whom shall I hand over the state of Luu?” (Juang 32.3)

13.6.2 The interrogative adverb *ian* occurs twice in the *Guuliang* (2:2496-2497).

2496. *Ian cherng jy?* In what way does /the *Chuenciou*/ give full expression to it (sc. the duke's determination)?" (Yiin 1.1)

2497. *Ian chiing tzai?* "Whom did one entreat?, (Dinq 1.6)

13.7 The interrogative adverb GS 805h *·dg/u*, "where?; how?"

13.7.1 There are two instances of the interrogative adverb *u* in the *Gongyang* (2:2498-2499). In addition there are 12 instances of the expression *u-hwu* "where?" (12:2500-2508).

2498. *Leau u der wei jiun hwu?* "How could Leau possibly have any claim to the title?" (Shiang 29.8)

2499. *U yeou yan ren jy gwo shyan ruoh tsyy jee hwu?* "Where could one find a man as deserving as this in telling of the affairs of another ruler's state?" (Jau 31.6; for this rendering see note to sentence 2151.)

2500. *U-hwu yn?* "Where did he behave licentiously?" (Hwan 6.4; Wen 14.3)

2501. *U-hwu jinn?* "Close to where?" (Hwan 10.4; 13.1)

2502. *U-hwu shyan?* "Where did the uncertainty obtain?" (Hwan 12.9)

2503. *Luu hour jy meeí u-hwu jyh?* "Where will the excellent /virtue/ of the marquis of Luu take him?" (Juang 12.4)

2504. *U-hwu guei yuh?* "(Where=) upon whom was the litigation brought?" (Miin 1.1)

2505. *U-hwu yonq jy?* "Where was he used?" (Shi 19:3; Jau 11.10)

2506. *U-hwu jye?* "From where did they take the spoils?" (Shi 21.6)

2507. *U-hwu cheu jy?* "From where did they take it?" (Shi 31.3)

2508. *U-hwu der gwobao erl chieh jy?* "Where could /he/ get hold of the treasures of the state and steal them?" (Dinq 8.6)

13.7.2 There are two instances of *u*, "where?", in the *Guuliang* (2:2509-2510).

2509. *Tzyy u jy jy?* "From where do you have this knowledge?" (Jau 18.2)

2510. *U der jy?* "Where did /he/ get hold of them?" (Dinq 9.3)

13.8 The interrogative adverb GS 642n *g'áp/her*, "why not?", occurs three times in the *Gongyang* (3:2511-2512).

2511. *Her jong wei jiun yii?* "Why should you not eventually become ruler?" (Yiin 3.7; 4.5)

2512. *Her shyh jy yii?* "Why not assassinate him and have done with him?" (Miin 1.1)

13.9 The interrogative adverb GS 49a' *g'o(g'âg) /hwu*, "why?" occurs once in the *Guuliang* (1:2513). There is one occurrence of *hwu wey*, "why?" (1:2514).

2513. *Hwu buh shyy dahfu jianq wei shyh erl wei joong hwu?* "Why do /you/ not order a great officer to command the guard and guard the grave?" (Shi 10.5)

2514. *Fei jy tzer hwu wey bwu chiuu yee?* "If /he/ considered it wrong, why did he not leave?" (Shiua 17.8)

13.10 The interrogative adverb GS 1185x *djung/iong*, "how?" occurs once in the *Gongyang* (1:2515).

2515. *Iong der ruoh shyh hwu?* "How could /the succession possibly be resolved/ in the manner /which you suggest/?" (Juang 32.3)

13.11 The interrogative form GS 547a *kjær/jii*, "how many?", occurs once in the *Gongyang* (1:2516).

2516. *Yeuan tzuu jee jii shyh hwu?* "By how many generations was this distant ancestor /separated from duke Shiang/?" (Juang 4.4)

14.0 Negatives

14.1 The negative GS 107a *mjwo (mjwag)/wu*, "do not; not"

14.1.1 The negative *wu* occurs twice in the *Gongyang* (2:2517).

2517. *Sheng wu shiang jiann, syy wu shiang ku.* "We shall not meet again in life, nor shall we cry over one another's death!" (Yiin 3.7)

14.1.2 The negative *wu* occurs five times in the *Guuliang* (5:2518).

2518. *Chern sheng erl buh sha, dwu shu jia yu sheng shanq. Yih ming tiantzyy jy jinn iue: wu yeong chyuan, wu chih dyi, wu yih shuh tzyy, wu yii chieh wei chi, wu shyy fuhren yuh gwo shyh.* "/They/ displayed the sacrificial animal but did not kill it. The statement /of the covenant/ was read and /then/ placed on the sacrificial animal. Once and for all the prohibitions of the Son of Heaven were made clear: 'Do not dam up the wells! Do not stop the free trade of grain! Do not remove the /true/ heir in order to set up /another/ son! Do not raise a concubine to the rank of wife! Do not allow women to participate in state affairs!'" (Shi 9.4)

14.2 The negative GS 503a *mjwæt/wuh*, "do not"

14.2.1 The negative *wuh* occurs six times in the *Gongyang* (6:2519-2523).

2519. *Ru wuh yeu erl yii yii*. "It would have been better if he had not given /him the city of Jing/." (yiin 1.3; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 87, note 1.3b.)
2520. *Buh ru wuh charng erl yii yii*. "It would have been better to dispense with the Autumnal sacrifice and leave it at that." (Hwan 14.5)
2521. *Jiun chiing wuh tzyh dyi yee*. "I beg of you, my lord, not to lead the troops in person!" (Juang 24.8)
2522. *Jiun chiing wuh sheu yee*. "I beg of you, my lord, not to grant this request!" (Shi 2.3; Shiu'an 12.3)
2523. *Buh ru wuh jiu erl yii yii*. "It would have been better had he simply left it unoccupied." (Wen 16.5)

14.2.2 The negative *wuh* occurs once in the *Guuliang* (1:2524).

2524. *Buh ru wuh chuu erl yii yii*. "It would have been better had he simply left it unoccupied." (Wen 16.5)

14.3 The negative GS 500a *piwət/fwu*

14.3.1 The seven instances of *fwu* in the *Gongyang* all obtain in quotes from the *Chuenchiou* text.

14.3.2 There are altogether 52 instances of *fwu* in the *Guuliang*, nine of which obtain in quotes from the *Chuenchiou* text. The remaining instances are the following (43:2525-2550).

2525. *Duann dih yee erl fwu wey dih, gongtzyy yee erl fwu wey gongtzyy, bean jy yee*. "The fact that Duann, who was the younger brother /of the ruler/ and a prince is not explicitly referred to as such indicates that /the Chuenchiou/ censures him." (Yiin 1.3)
2526. *Chyi fwu wey chaur her yee?* "Why does /the Chuenchiou/ reject the use of the term *chaur* ('to pay court visit')?" (Yiin 1.6)
2527. *Guh fwu yeu chaur yee*. "Therefore /the Chuenchiou/ refuses to grant /him/ the use of the term *chaur* ('to pay court visit')." (Yiin 1.6)
2528. *Ruh jee ney fwu show yee*. "The term *ruh* ('to enter') implies that those who are inside /the besieged city/ refuse to receive /those who wish to enter/." (Hwan 2.2, et passim, in all 14 instances)
2529. *Fwu dahfu jee, Yiin buh jyue dahfu yee*. "Since Yiin did not invest great officers /the Chuenchiou/ does not refer /to Shye/ as such." (Yiin 9.4.)
2530. *Chyi daw yii Jou gong wei fwu show yee*. "This norm was based on the consideration that the duke of Jou /to whom sacrifices were offered in the Grand Temple of Luu/ would not receive it." (Hwan 2.5; my translation of this passage is tentative.)
2531. *Suei shy gwo fwu soen wu yih ryh yee*. "Even though /they/ had lost their

- states /we/ would not treat them less generously than we had done in the past.” (Hwan 7.2)
2532. *Guh fwu yeu shyy yee*. “Therefore /the *Chuenshiou*/ does not grant him the use of the term *shyy* (‘to send as an envoy’).” (Hwan 8.6)
2533. *Fwu cheng shuh yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ refuses to refer to the two of them (sc. the duke and his spouse) together.” (Hwan 18.1; my translation is tentative; cf Malmqvist 1971, p. 116, note 18.1b.)
2534. *Her yonq fwu show yee?* “Why did /they/ refuse to admit him?” (Juang 6.2; Shiuan 11.6; Ai 2.6)
2535. *Fuhren fwu muh yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ does not specify /the place of death/ in the case of a woman.” (Juang 21.3; see Malmqvist 1971, p. 155, note 21.3a.)
2536. *Yii tzongmiaw fwu show yee*. “For the sake of the ancestral temple /they/ refused to admit her.” (Juang 24.5)
2537. *Chyi yii tzongmiaw fwu show her yee?* “Why did /they/ refuse to admit her for the sake of the ancestral temple?” (Juang 24.5)
2538. *Min fwu binq yee*. “The people was not in distress.” (Juang 28.7)
2539. *Yu gong fwu ting*. “The duke of Yu refused to listen to him.” (Shi 2.3)
2540. *Yih tzer yii way jy fwu furen erl shiann jenq yan*. “On the other hand the correct appreciation /of the status of the spouse/ is expressed through the fact that an exterior state refused to grant her the title of spouse.” (Shi 8.4)
2541. *Nah jee ney fwu show yee*. “The term *nah* (‘to introduce’) implies that those who are inside /the besieged city/ refuse to receive /those who wish to enter/.” (Shi 25.5; Shiuan 25.7; Ai 2.6)
2542. *Chyn ren fwu furen yee*. “The people of Chyn refused to represent her as the spouse /of the duke/.” (Wen 9.14)
2543. *Jyi way jy fwu furen erl shiann jenq yan*. “/The true status of the spouse/ is revealed by the fact that an exterior state refused to grant her the title of spouse.” (Wen 9.14)
2544. *Fwu yii shanq shiah daw, wuh shanq yee*. “By refusing to refer to /this killing/ in terms of superiors and subordinates /the *Chuenchiou*/ condemns the ruler.” (Shiang 10.8)
2545. *Wuh jy, fwu yeou yee*. “/The *Chuenchiou*/ condemns him and dispossesses him /of his status as great officer/.” (Shiang 23.12)
2546. *Guoh farnq fwu jwu*. “When /the game flees/ beyond the barrier one does not pursue it.” (Jau 8.6)
2547. *Chern fwu wei yee*. “A /true/ subject refuses to act so.” (Dinq 4.14)
2548. *Chyi fwu show yii tzuen wangfuh yee*. “That /they/ refused to receive him was in order to honour /his/ grandfather’s wish/.” (Ai 2.6)
2549. *Her yonq fwu show?* “Why did /they/ refuse to admit him?” (Ai 6.8)
2550. *Yii chyi show minq kee yii yan fwu show yee*. “Since he had been invested it was possible to use the expression *fwu show* (‘to refuse to admit him’).” (Ai 6.8)

In all but four of these occurrences (sentences 2531, 2533, 2538, and 2544 *fwu* may represent a fusion of the negative adverb *buh* and a following pronominal object, GS 962a *fiəg/jy*.

14.4 The negative GS 277a *mwât/moh* occurs seven times in the *Gongyang* (7:2551-2555).

- 2551. *Wu yeu Jenq ren moh yeou cherng yee*. “Between us and the men of Jenq there is not yet peace.” (Yiin 6.1; for the various interpretations of *moh* in this passage see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 91, note 6.1b.)
- 2552. *Wu yeu Jenq ren tzer herwey moh yeou cherng?* “Why was there not yet peace between us and the men of Jenq?” (Yiin 6.1)
- 2553. *Moh yan eel*. “This is a minimizing expression.” (Hwan 15.9; Cherng 16.7; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 115, note 15.9a.)
- 2554. *Herwey moh yan eel?* “Why does /the *Chuenchiou*/ use a minimizing expression?” (Hwan 15.9)
- 2555. *Moh bwu yih leh hwu Yau Shuenn jy jy jiuntzyy yee*. “And in the end, is it not also a cause for joy that a Yau and a Shuenn /of later ages/ shall know /and appreciate the wisdom of/ the superior man?” (Ai 14.1; for this rendering see *Malmqvist* 1971, p. 220, note 14.1a.)

SUMMARY

	<i>Gongyang</i>	<i>Guuliang</i>
Sentence suffixes		
GS 89b <i>yu</i>		
in disjunctive questions	6:1-6	—
in <i>Chyi ju x yu?</i>	6:7-12	—
in subordinated clauses	2:13	—
elsewhere, converting a statement into a question	6:14-19	7:20-25
GS 55a <i>hwu</i>		
in conjunction with interrogative forms	6:26-31	3:57-59
in exclamative sentences	1:32	2:64
in <i>chyí . . . hwu?</i>	—	4:60-63
in disjunctive questions	—	1:65
elsewhere, converting a statement into a question	27:33-56	20:66-85
GS 200a <i>yan</i>		
in <i>iu x yan</i>	16:86-101	1:145
in <i>wu shyr yan</i>	2:102-103	—
in <i>yan eel</i>	22:213-228	28:259-275
as a word suffix	—	2:143-144
in <i>ruoh . . . yan</i>	—	1:146
elsewhere	39:104-142	50:147-196
GS 359a <i>eel</i>		
in <i>eel yee</i>	3:197-199	—
with affirmative connotation	13:200-212	—
in <i>yan eel</i>	22:213-228	28:259-275
in <i>yun eel</i>	2:229-230	2:276-277
in <i>her verb eel?</i>	73:231-243	1:279
= <i>erl yii</i>	15:244-258	—
in <i>hwu eel</i>	—	1:278

GS 975.1 <i>yii</i>		
in main clause preceded by conditional clause	22:280–300	25:393–417
in <i>yii verb yii</i>	23:301–323	6:418–423
in <i>jih verb yii</i>	3:324–326	3:424–426
signalling completion of action or new situation in the future	7:327–332	4:427–430
in emphatically inverted predicates	2:333–334	2:431–432
in <i>erl yii yii</i>	5:495–499	2:504–505
elsewhere, signalling perfective aspect and/or new situation	68:335–499	70:433–494
The cluster <i>erl yii</i>		
in <i>erl yii yii</i>	5:495–499	2:504–505
elsewhere	4:500–503	1:506
GS 977a <i>yii</i>	1:507	—
GS 981a <i>eel</i>	1:508	—
GS 943v <i>tzai</i>	4:510–512	5:513–517
GS 101a <i>fwu</i>	1:518	—
Copulative nominal predications		
the copula GS 575i <i>wei</i>	4:519–522	5:523–527
wei=GS 575v <i>suei</i>	—	1:528
the copula GS 575n <i>wei</i>	2:529–530	1:531
the copula GS 575o <i>wei</i>	1:532	—
the copula GS 1096r <i>you</i>		
in <i>you iue</i>	5:533–537	4:551–554
with etymologizing function	5:538–542	5:555–559
in <i>x jy wei yan you y yee</i>	—	7:560–564
elsewhere	8:543–550	4:566–569
the copula GS 1079a <i>you</i>	—	1:570
the copula GS 27a <i>wei</i>		
in <i>wei NN</i>	3:571–573	8:586–592
elsewhere	577–585	594–598
the copula GS 866a <i>shyh</i>	—	3:2276–2278
the copula GS 579a <i>fei</i>		
as copula	30:599–628	41:646–686
as predicate	5:629–633	—
as putative verb	2:634–635	20:687–706
as a negative negating a proposition	9:636–644	6:707–712
as a subordinating conjunction	1:645	5:713–717
elsewhere	—	2:718–719
Non-copulative nominal predications		
the pattern S–P	720–736	760–769
the pattern S–P <i>yee</i>	737–751	770–781
the pattern S-adverb–P <i>yee</i>	8:752–759	1:782

Explicative predications		
the causal copula GS 27a <i>wey</i>	783-794	795-800
non-copulative explicative predications		801-817
Non-nominal predications		
the preverb GS 241a <i>jiann</i>	5:818-822	—
the preverb GS 27a <i>wei</i>	2:823-824	—
verb-object constructions		
verbs followed by two nominal referents		
verb+object+recipient	4:825-827a	4:828-831
verb+recipient+object	4:832-834	5:835-839
verb+object+contributor	4:840-843	7:844-850
verb+object+goal	8:851-858	—
<i>bu</i> +verb+object+ <i>yu</i> (<i>hwu</i>)+goal	10:859-864	—
verb+object+ <i>yu</i> +recipient	7:866-872	—
verb+object+ <i>yu</i> +contributor	3:873-875	2:876-877
verb+object+ <i>yu</i> +referent	2:878-879	—
verb+object+ <i>hwu</i> +recipient	5:880-884	—
verb+object+ <i>hwu</i> +contributor	2:885-886	1:887
verb+object+ <i>hwu</i> +referent	—	1:888
verb+object+ <i>iu</i> +recipient	1:889	6:890-894
<i>yii</i> +object+verb+recipient	9:895-900	—
<i>yii</i> +verb+recipient	—	4:901-904
<i>yii</i> +object+verb+ <i>yu</i> +recipient	1:905	—
verb+recipient+ <i>yii</i> +object	1:906	—
verb+ <i>yu</i> +recipient+ <i>yii</i> +object	—	1:907
<i>yii</i> +object+ <i>erl</i> +verb+object	—	1:908
Included predications		
marked subordination of clauses		
the marker GS 94g <i>ru</i> , "if"	4:909-912	6:914-917
in <i>chiee ru</i> , "if furthermore"	1:913	—
in <i>shyy [jy] ru x ran</i>	—	3:918-920
in <i>ru x ran</i>	—	1:921
the marker <i>chiee shyy</i> , "if indeed"	1:922	—
the marker GS 777a <i>ruoh</i> , "if"	1:923	2:932-933
in [<i>shyy</i>] <i>ruoh x ran</i>	6:924-929	—
in <i>ruoh shyy x ran</i>	1:930	—
deletion of <i>ran</i>	1:931	—
in <i>wei ruoh</i>	—	2:934-935
deletion of <i>wei</i>	—	1:936
deletion of <i>ruoh</i>	—	1:937
the marker GS 108h <i>goou</i> , "if"	5:938-942	2:943-944
the marker GS 290a <i>sheh</i> , "supposing"	1:945	—
the marker GS 399a <i>jyi</i> , "if perhaps"	3:946-948	—
the marker GS 575v <i>suei</i> , "although"	14:949-962	24:966-990
<i>suei=suei wei</i>	3:963-965	—
the marker GS 515c <i>jih</i> , "once"	3:991-993	14:997-1002
in <i>jih tzer</i>	1:994	—
in <i>jih erl</i>	2:995-996	1:1003
the marker <i>yii</i> , "since"	5:1004-1008	46:1009-1051

unmarked clause subordination	1052-1083	1084-1109
included predications as subjects		
marked by GS 962a <i>jy</i> or GS 952a <i>chyí</i>	1110-1116	1124-1133
unmarked	1117-1123	1134-1138
included predications as objects of verbs,		
marked (mp) and unmarked (up)		
the verb GS 251a <i>yan+mp</i>	15:1139-1150	12:1174-1185
<i>yan+up</i>	27:1151-1173	3:1186-1188
the verb GS 241a <i>jiann/shiann+mp</i>	2:1189-1190	11:1191-1201
<i>jiann/shiann+up</i>	—	1:1202
the verb GS 863a <i>jy+mp</i>	13:1203-1215	17:1221-1235
<i>jy+up</i>	5:1216-1220	—
the verb GS 547i <i>ji+mp</i>	2:1236-1237	1:1240
<i>ji+up</i>	2:1238-1239	—
the verb GS 370a <i>in+mp</i>	2:1241-1242	1:1243
the verb GS 976nl <i>day+mp</i>	2:1244-1245	—
the verb GS 571s <i>huey+mp</i>	1:1246	—
the verb GS 317a <i>dah+mp</i>	9:1247-1255	—
the verb GS 1188a <i>jonq+mp</i>	—	3:1256-1258
the verb GS 480u <i>jiin+mp</i>	—	1:1259
the verb GS 475q <i>miin+mp</i>	—	1:1260
the verb GS 205a <i>shann+mp</i>	—	2:1261-1262
the verb GS 540a <i>guey+mp</i>	—	3:1263-1265
the verb GS 976ll <i>day+mp</i>	—	1:1266
the verb GS 1085a <i>show+mp</i>	—	2:1267-1268
the verb GS 818a <i>cherng+mp</i>	—	1:1269
the verb GS 75a <i>jeu+mp</i>	—	2:1270-1271
the verb GS 955a <i>shii+mp</i>	—	1:1272
the verb GS 133a <i>shiu+mp</i>	—	2:1273-1274
the verb GS 760a <i>ming+mp</i>	—	1:1275
the verb GS 805a <i>wuh+mp</i>	—	2:1276-1277
the verb GS 579a <i>fei+mp</i>	—	3:1278-1280
the verb GS 961gl <i>day+mp</i>	—	1:1281
<i>day+up</i>	—	1:1282
the verb GS 833j <i>jenq+mp</i>	—	23:1283-1303
<i>jenq+up</i>	—	1:1304
included predications as prepositional		
objects		
<i>Her yan hwu+mp</i>	2:1305-1306	—
<i>Her yan hwu+up</i>	8:1307-1314	—
verb+ <i>hwu+mp</i>	9:1315-1323	—
<i>iu+mp</i>	6:1324-1327	1:1528
Coordination of nominal expressions		
the marker GS 89b <i>yeu</i>	1329-1338	1339-1347
the marker GS 681a <i>jyi</i>	—	1348-1349
unmarked appositive coordination	1350-1351	1365-1367
unmarked additive coordination	1352-1364	1368-1375

Coordination of negatable expressions		
the marker GS 982a <i>erl</i>	1376–1390	1391–1406
the marker GS 995a <i>yow</i>	1:1407	2:1408–1409
the marker GS 46a <i>chiee</i>	1:1410	2:1411–1412
unmarked additive coordination	1413–1422	1423–1433
unmarked alternative coordination	1434–1435	1436–1438
Subordination		
the noun GS 968a <i>tsyr</i> with marked attributes	16:1439–1453	41:1454–1494
<i>tsyr</i> with unmarked attributes	4:1493–1496a	3:1497–1499
Pronouns		
the first person pronoun GS 58f <i>wu</i>		
as subject	54:1501–1550	14:1585–1597
as member of apposition functioning		
as subject	1:1551	—
as pivot object/subject	1:1552	—
as unmarked attribute	34:1553–1584	19:1598–1613
as marked attribute	—	1:1614
as prepositional object	—	1:1615
as object	—	3:1616–1618
the first person pronoun GS 2a <i>woo</i>		
as plural object, “us, the state of Luu”	33:1619–1646	17:1680–1696
as singular object	18:1647–1665	8:1697–1703
as plural subject, “we, the state of Luu”	11:1666–1674	6:1704–1709
as singular or plural subject	3:1675–1677	13:1710–1722
as attribute	1:1678	7:1723–1728
with uncertain function	1:1679	—
the first person pronoun GS 83a <i>yu</i>		
as subject	—	1:1731
as object	2:1729–1730	—
as attribute	1:1728a	—
the second person pronoun GS 359a <i>eel</i>		
as subject	10:1732–1741	1:1758
as member of coordinate expression		
functioning as subject	1:1742	—
as unmarked attribute	5:1743–1747	3:1755–1757
as marked attribute	1:1748	—
as postverbal object	4:1749–1752	—
as preverbal object	2:1753–1754	—
the second person pronoun GS 94a <i>ruu</i>		
as subject	1:1759	3:1762–1764
as member of coordinate expression		
functioning as subject	—	1:1765
as object	2:1760–1761	2:1766–1767

the reflexive pronoun GS 1237m <i>tzyh</i>		
= <i>ipse ipsum</i>	5:1768–1771	12:1774–1783
others	2:1772–1773	4:1784–1787
the reflexive pronoun GS 953a <i>jii</i>		
as subject	8:1788–1794	3:1801–1803
as marked subject of included predication	1:1795	1:1805
as unmarked subject of included predication	—	1:1804
as object	5:1796–1800	5:1806–1810
the indefinite pronoun GS 929a <i>huoh</i>		
in <i>huoh jee</i> , “perhaps”	—	1:1836
elsewhere	14:1812–1820	20:1821–1835, 1837–1840
the negative pronoun GS 802a <i>moh</i>		
in <i>moh . . . jee</i>	2:1851–1852	—
elsewhere	10:1841–1850	7:1853–1859
the pronoun GS 4cl <i>tuo</i>	4:1860–1863	—
The nominal and nominalizing form		
GS 91a <i>suoo</i>		
as a noun	4:1864–1866	12:1900–1910
= <i>suoo yu</i>	4:1867–1870	8:1911–1918
= <i>suoo yii</i>	2:1871–1872	1:1921
in <i>suoo yii</i>	4:1873–1875	44:1922–1962
in <i>suoo wey</i>	2:1876–1877	3:1964–1966
in <i>suoo yeu</i>	—	1:1919
in <i>suoo iu</i>	—	1:1920
deletion of <i>suoo</i>	1:1878	—
in conjunction with deleted GS 21a <i>yi</i>	—	5:1967–1971
with uncertain function	2:1879–1880	—
other regular instances	22:1881–1899	22:1972–1993
The nominalizing form GS 45a <i>jee</i>		
in <i>chyi</i> verb <i>jee</i> and N <i>jy</i> verb <i>jee</i>	1994–1999	2053–2058
in N verb <i>jee</i>	2000–2003	2059–2060
in [N] <i>yeou</i> verb <i>jee</i>	2004–2009	2061–2067
in [N] <i>wu</i> verb <i>jee</i>	2010	2068
in N <i>moh</i> verb <i>jee</i>	2:1851–1852	—
in <i>yeou</i> N verb <i>jee</i>	2011	—
in <i>wu</i> N verb <i>jee</i>	2012–2013	—
in verb <i>jee</i>	2014–2018	2069–2071
linked to a marked predication	2019–2021	2078
linked to an unmarked predication	2022–2025	—
linked to <i>suoo yii</i>	1874–1875	1952–1960
linked to <i>suoo wey</i>		1964–1965
linked to a nominal expression	2026–2032	2079–2082

linked to a numeral	2033–2034	2083
linked to a <i>Chuenchiou</i> quote	2035–2036	2084–2086
linked to a conditional clause	2037–2038	2087–2088
in <i>guujee</i> , “in the past”	11:2039–2049	15:2089–2103
in <i>shijee</i> , “in the past”	1:2050	—
in <i>yehjee</i> , “last night”	1:2051	2:2104
in <i>her jee?</i> , “and why?”	1:2052	—
in <i>huoh jee</i> , “perhaps”	—	1:2105
irregular occurrences	—	3:2106–2108
Non-interrogative determinatives		
GS 966b <i>tzy</i> , “this”	1:2109	—
GS 869a <i>sy</i> , “this”	—	2:2110
=GS 906a <i>tzer</i> , “then”	—	2:2111
GS 358a <i>tsyy</i> , “this”		
<i>tsyy</i> +nominal expression	6:2112–2117	3:2154–2156
in <i>tsyy jy shy</i>	1:2118	—
as object of a preposition	18:2119–2136	3:2157–2159
as object of a verb	24:2137–2152	3:2160–2162
in <i>tsyy jy wey yu?</i>	1:2153	—
in <i>tsyy jy wey yee</i>	—	1:2163
GS 866a <i>shyh</i> , “this”		
<i>shyh</i> +nominal expression	3:2164–2166	9:2221–2229
as subject	19:2167–2185	29:2230–2257
as predicate	3:2186–2188	1:2258
in <i>wey shyh</i>	5:2189–2193	4:2259–2262
in <i>iu shyh</i>	2:2194–2195	1:2263
in <i>yu shyh</i>	—	1:2264
in <i>tzay shyh</i>	8:2196–2201	—
in <i>tzyh shyh</i>	8:2202–2208	—
in <i>ruoh shyh</i>	3:2209–2211	—
in <i>ru shyh</i>	—	1:2265
in <i>yonq shyh</i>	2:2212–2213	—
in <i>yii shyh</i>	—	1:2266
in <i>in shyh</i>	—	1:2267
in <i>yii shyh wei x</i>	—	8:2268–2275
as object of other verbs	5:2214–2218	—
in <i>tzer shyh</i>	2:2219–2220	17:2279–2295
as copula	—	3:2276–2278
GS 45p <i>ju</i> , “all, the various”	2:2296–2297	
in <i>Chyi ju x yu?</i>	6:7–12	—
= <i>jy iu</i>	12:2298–2308	2:2309–2310
= <i>jy hwu</i>	—	1:2311
GS 25g <i>bii</i> , “that, those”	7:2312–2317	2:2318–2319

GS 101a <i>fwu</i> , "this, that"		
as determinative	6:2320-2324	1:2327
as sentence initial particle	2:2325-2326	4:2328-2331
GS 625a <i>farn</i> , "every, all, in every case"	4:2332-2335	1:2336
GS 777a <i>ruoh</i> , "thus, such one"	4:2377-2340	—
Interrogatives		
GS 575u <i>sheir?</i> , "who?"	3:2342-2344	2:2345-2346
GS 1026a <i>shwu?</i> , "who, which one?"		
as subject	22:2347-2362	6:2377-2382
as preverbal object	12:2363-2373	1:2383
as prepositional object	4:2374-2376	—
GS 313d <i>her?</i> , "what?", as preverbal object	6:2384-2389	—
GS 1f <i>her?</i> , "what?"		
in <i>nay her?</i> , "under what circumstances"		
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in <i>her bih?</i> , "why necessarily?"	1:2490	—
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GS 146a <i>an?</i> , "where?, how?"	—	3:2492-2494
GS 200a <i>ian?</i> , "where?, how?"	1:2495	2:2496-2497
GS 805h <i>u?</i> , "where?, how?"	2:2498-2499	2:2509-2510
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GS 642n <i>her?</i> , "why not?"	3:2511-2512	—
GS 49al <i>hwu?</i> , "why?"	—	1:2513
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GS 1185x <i>iong?</i> , “how?”	1:2515	—
GS 547a <i>jii?</i> , “how many?”	1:2516	—
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GS 107a <i>wu</i>	2:2517	5:2518
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